

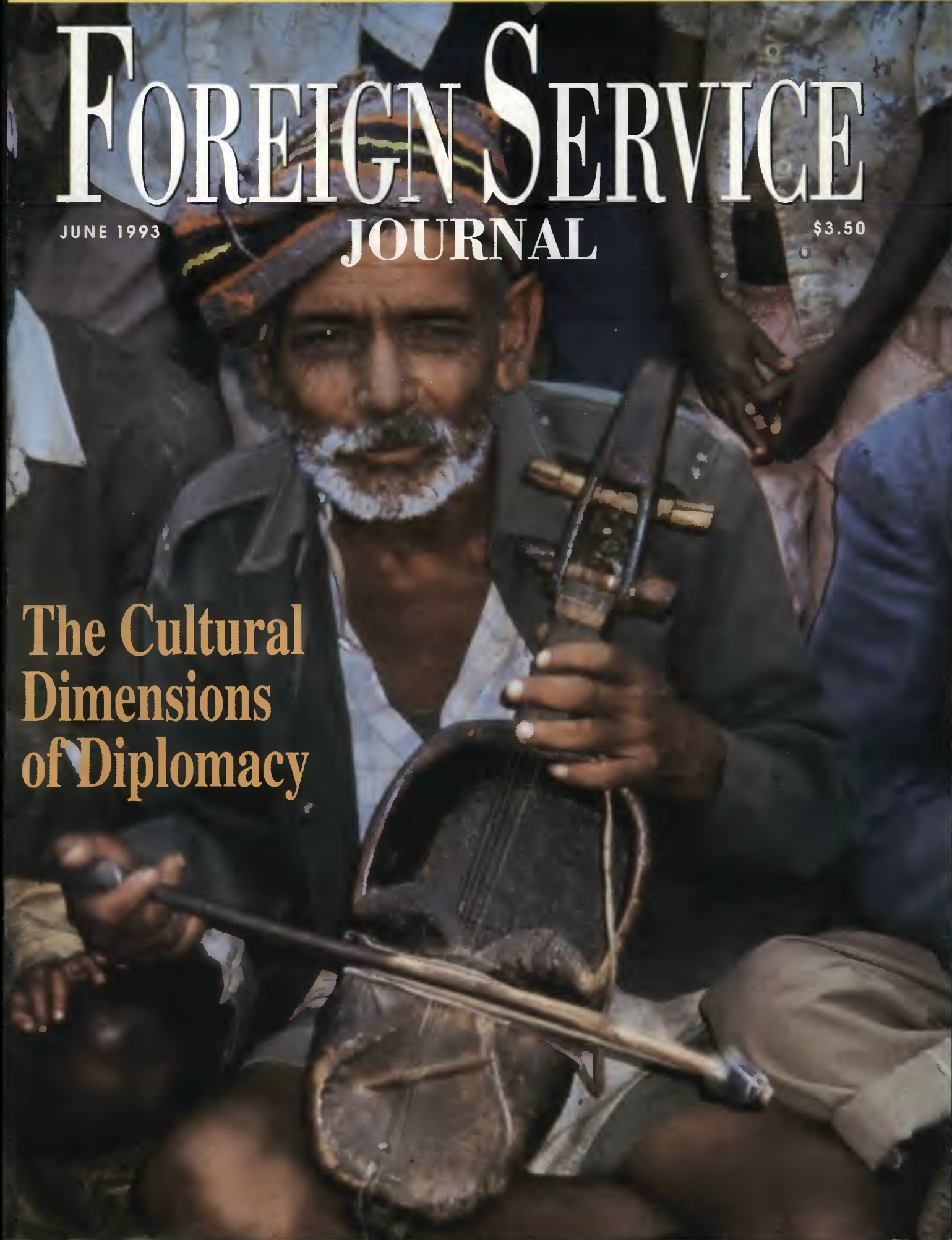
PLUS: An Interview with Deputy Secretary of State Clifton Wharton

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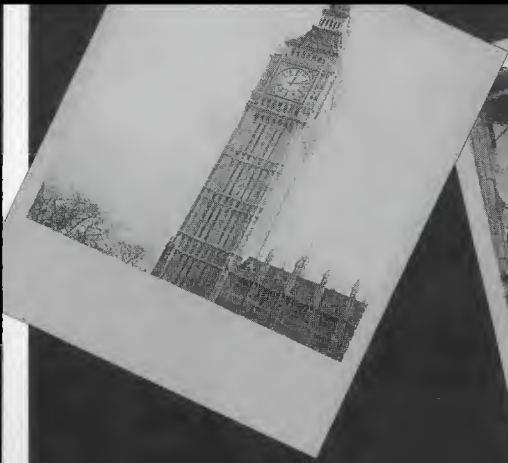
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Getting Serious About Training

It's June and the annual migration is starting. Hundreds of us are on the move from one assignment to another and some of us are even going to training. We wonder how many are starting a training program with great reluctance, because the job they really wanted didn't come through. We also wonder how many weren't able to get training at all, even though the department says they need it for promotion. In short, we're wondering about the state of training in the Foreign Service.

This seems a particularly appropriate time to wonder. The U.S. agenda in the post-Cold War era, with its new focus on global issues and its renewed stress on global competitiveness, requires a Foreign Service equipped with new skills and fortified with new knowledge. That need is only reinforced by continuing advances in technology that affect the way we communicate, manage our facilities, and relate to one another in our workplaces.

The timing is right also because in just a few months the quaint old Foreign Service Institute will transform itself into the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. FSI Director Larry Taylor is telling anyone who will listen (or who reads this month's *State* magazine) that this will be more than just a physical relocation to a 35-acre, state-of-the-art facility. Indeed, there are already exciting changes under way at FSI in both curricula and management, with the promise of more. Foreign Service training is on the way to becoming a treat instead of a treatment.

How can we exploit this opportunity? First, it is crucial in this era of scarce resources that top-level management at the foreign affairs agencies maintain a sustained focus on the issue. Even straight-lining training resources while increasing training demands will lead to a loss of quality that we can no longer afford. The Foreign Service is people, and those people must be as well prepared as possible for the challenges they face.

Second, there should be even closer coordination among FSI management and the offices responsible for assignments, career development and allocation of resources. An employee cannot be told that training is a prerequisite for career advancement, only to discover that it is unavailable. In fact, for training to be viewed throughout the service as a welcome part of a career rather than as an unavoidable interruption, the linkage between time spent in training and a successful career should be clearly understood from the beginning.

The real challenge is to change the status of training in our Foreign Service culture by moving toward career tracks for both generalists and specialists in which training is rewarded as well as rewarding. With a new policy agenda to challenge us and a new facility to energize us, now is the time to start.

—William A. Kirby

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THE COVER:

Photograph of
Buddha Bahadur Gayak
by Stephen Forman



Cuba Lobby24



Torn Curtain40

FEATURES

Passports and Politics: In Search of the Alpha File 12
BY ROBERT C. TOTH

A Post-Cold War CIA 18
Making reform stick
BY MELVIN A. GDDDMAN

The Power of the Cuba Lobby 24
BY GERDGE GEDDA

Interview: Clifton R. Wharton Jr. 31

FOCUS: THE CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF DIPLOMACY

Elusive Horizons 34
Culture and Modernization in Nepal
BY STEPHEN C. FORMAN

The Cold War's Deadliest Weapon: Information 40
BY WALTER R. ROBERTS AND HAROLD E. ENGLE

Diplomats in History 45
John Stevens and Hawaii, 1893
BY RHODA HACKLER

Books 50
Thomas J. Corcoran on Vietnam and Mongolia

DEPARTMENTS

AFSA Views 2	50 Years Ago/Quiz 60
Letters 4	Real Estate 52
Clippings 5	Marketplace 55
Despatch 9	Schools 57
AFSA News Pull-out section	Classifieds Pull-out Section



LETTERS

POTATO PHILANTHROPY

TO THE EDITOR:

Gil Kulick's piece on "The Great Mogadishu Potato Caper" (February *Journal*) reminded me of a potato-filled evening in Santo Domingo during the early days of the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in May 1965.

At Lyndon Johnson's direct behest, the department scoured the Western Hemisphere in search of other-government support for U.S. policy. Brazil, as well as Honduras, Nicaragua, and Paraguay, sent troops. Costa Rica sent policemen, other countries sent clothing, medicine, and food.

The staple Dominican meal con-

sists of rice and beans. On this particular evening we received a cable from Embassy Panama offering potatoes. Would we like a planeload flown in? After discussing the pros and cons of the United States officially promoting a change in the Dominican diet, we decided against Panama's potatoes. I wrote our response with care. The product was a brief paragraph under the heading: "Post Praises but Politely Prefers Pass Promised Planeload Panama Potatoes." We never heard about them again.

*Alfonso Arenales
Bethesda, Maryland*

CORRECTION

Due to an editing error, an excerpt from a *Washington Post* article by John M. Goshko in the May Clippings column erroneously attributed a quote. Goshko quoted a senior State Department official, not a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, as saying that the Clinton administration gave priority to winning confirmation of those State Department officials who are charged with making policy rather than executing it.

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CLIPPINGS

*"You know you're out of power when your limousine is yellow
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—James Baker

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 29, 1993

SILENT SECRETARY

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 30, 1993
BY ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK

As bipartisan congressional leaders conferred with President Clinton on the Bosnian crisis, an unsmiling Secretary of State Warren Christopher uttered hardly a word—a silence that cloaked his rising influence in the Oval Office.

But behind the appearance of detachment, the phlegmatic secretary was performing an invaluable service: stockpiling anti-interventionist evidence from Congress and Europe for close perusal by his boss to prevent a possible mistake of incalculable dimensions.

... Christopher is not devising broad strategies. He wants to build a stable base to prevent his "domestic" president from being pressured on foreign policy by specialists with far more experience.

A Christopher aide told us it is "absolutely false" the secretary is inherently opposed to the use of force in the Balkans. ... But he is painted by adversaries inside the administration as a weak-kneed San Francisco lawyer unwilling to exert American power.

The embarrassingly critical note sent to Christopher by a dozen State Department desk officers who believe that only U.S. military force can stop the Serbian killings was leaked not by them but by other interventionists. Allies mustered by Christopher include not only Gen. Colin Powell and other senior officers but

the American people. ... It is the unpleasant task of the sphinx at the State Department to make certain the president gets his facts without folly.

THE INTERNATIONAL CROWD

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 23, 1993

The men and women of President Clinton's foreign policy operation may be diverse in some ways, but they are a group that's been heavily filtered through some of the most elite finishing schools for the international crowd.

It turns out that about one-third of the 40 or so top officials at the State Department and the National Security Council have degrees from such institutions as the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, and others that belong to the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs. Several more have taught at the 14 schools in the association.

EGG RACE

THE WASHINGTON TIMES,
APRIL 26, 1993

The White House has rejected as unsatisfactory a large number of State Department candidates for ambassadorial posts, challenging Secretary of State Warren Christopher's pledge that career officials will be first in line for the jobs, sources said.

... [A] senior White House aide

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LOCAL PRESENCE

complained that a State Department list, made up entirely of Foreign Service officials, did not contain enough minorities and women. Much of the list was returned to Foggy Bottom and is being personally reviewed by Mr. Christopher, [sources] said.

The filling of top posts around the government has been delayed by White House insistence that appointees show diversity in ethnicity, gender, and geography. These are jokingly known as the "EGG" criteria. Another source said the department has been told not to submit any more names for now.

... At another point Mr. Christopher complained that the Foreign Service seemed to have made little progress in lifting women and minorities to upper ranks since he was the Carter administration's deputy secretary of state.

[The] vice president of the American Foreign Service Association . . .

acknowledged that the Foreign Service "does have diversity problems." Steps are being taken to correct them, he said. "The most important thing is that the person be highly qualified," he said.

The president has formally nominated only nine ambassadors. . . . Sources said the White House has approved a second list of 13 nominees, which will go to the Senate shortly. Mr. Christopher originally sent about 30 candidates to the White House, but a large number were returned, with orders to justify in each case the appointment of a Foreign Service officer.

AMBASSADORS-IN-WAITING

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, APRIL 7, 1993
 BY FRANK J. MURRAY

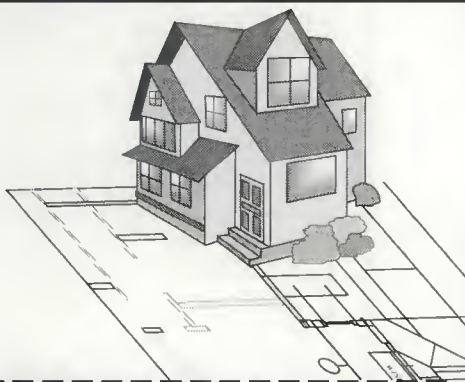
Annoyed diplomats here are muttering among themselves—diplomatically, of course—that White House gridlock is

blocking 20 of them from presenting credentials to President Clinton.

Mr. Clinton, 2 1/2 months into his term, has not formally received the credentials of any newly appointed ambassador. "They want to be accredited so they can start work. Perhaps he doesn't have enough experience in this," the diplomat said.

Nations whose ambassadors are waiting to make the ritual journey to the White House include Israel, Jordan, Mexico, Canada, Peru, and the Philippines. The White House and State Department attributed the delay to the need to decide on a format for the meetings and the fact that Mr. Clinton has been too busy for protocol formalities.

An official of one embassy was uncharacteristically snide, saying: "Apparently someone at the White House doesn't know what it means to present credentials. They must not see too many ambassadors in Arkansas." ■



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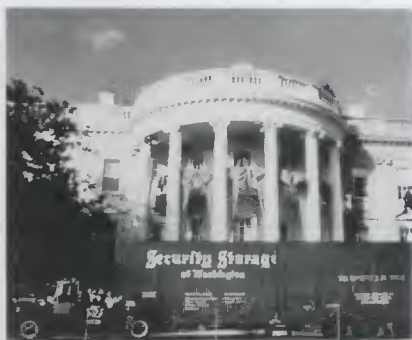
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Participatory Journalism

In the widely scattered but closely connected community of the Foreign Service, the *Foreign Service Journal* tries to serve as a worldwide agora, in which readers can meet and share their views, ambitions, war stories, advice, and dissent. The magazine should, like a language, change and grow with the needs of those who use it. We who produce the magazine from our aerie over Foreign Service Park need continually to reaffirm our link with the readers and ask for your criticism and advice. Over the last couple of years we have done this with a readers' survey, appeals for letters and

calls, and regular self-criticism meetings for the staff and editorial board.

Recently we asked a small group of readers to spend a couple of hours with us and tell us what they liked and disliked about the magazine. We selected eight readers deemed typical by the range of their professional concentrations and interests, plied them with lunch, and asked for their unadulterated views of the magazine we produce for you.

The news was generally good. The reviewers found the magazine stimulating and useful, and they enjoyed the full range of articles we publish, from policy

analysis and investigative reporting to reminiscence and humor. They appreciated articles that focus on their professional lives—the practice of diplomacy, the futures of their agencies, the personalities of senior officials—but not articles strictly on foreign policy, the arts, or even foreign affairs with a forced Foreign Service spin. Equally, they did not want the magazine proper (as opposed to AFSA News) to run very narrowly focused articles on promotion precepts, EERs, and pocketbook issues.

The group did not shy away from criticism of their own ranks in the magazine, but they also wanted to see their best sides reflected in our coverage. They wanted to see the magazine promote professionalism, not with artificially bubbly pieces but with fair-

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mind examinations of what we do right and wrong and some space for successful but little-known programs.

Most of all, the reviewers wanted more debate in the magazine, airing different sides of an issue. They wanted plenty of opportunities for readers to voice their reactions to issues of interest, whether in the form of focus groups meeting to discuss an issue, postcard responses to articles, or full-blown editorial replies.

The *Journal* received a complex and intriguing mandate from the focus group, and it will take some time to sift through recommendations. Our first response, however, will be to give readers more opportunity to contribute their views on themes of vital importance to the Foreign Service. Instead of choosing one focus for each issue then dropping it for a year, we will, like any good composer, set a few durable themes then revisit them several times throughout the course of the year. When we pick up the

themes, it may be in the form of publishing many short responses to an article, or we may invite readers in for a roundtable discussion, whose outcome

Our magazine can serve as an open forum only if members of the community contribute. We want your articles, letters, telephone calls, and faxes, on any theme, at any time.

will be published in the magazine.

As our first theme of enduring concern, the editorial board plans to focus on the complex of issues around ethical standards and accountability. Each ethics policy was put in place to respond to a need or correct an abuse, but is the

cumulative effect to promote professionalism? Do ethics standards instead stifle initiative? Have highly controversial policies, like support for the Contras and engagement with Saddam Hussein, politicized the Foreign Service? Has the establishment of an inspector general been healthy in fighting waste and fraud? Has it detracted from the Foreign Service's ability to do its job? We want your reflections on these issues.

On other themes, the group suggested that the *Journal* add reviews of television and video of relevance to the Foreign Service and that we devote more attention to Foreign Service families.

Our magazine can serve as an open forum only if members of the community contribute. We want your articles, letters, telephone calls, and faxes, on any theme, at any time. Each submission gets a measured review by a board of peers, the editorial board, and we try to make room for everything. Let us hear from you. ■

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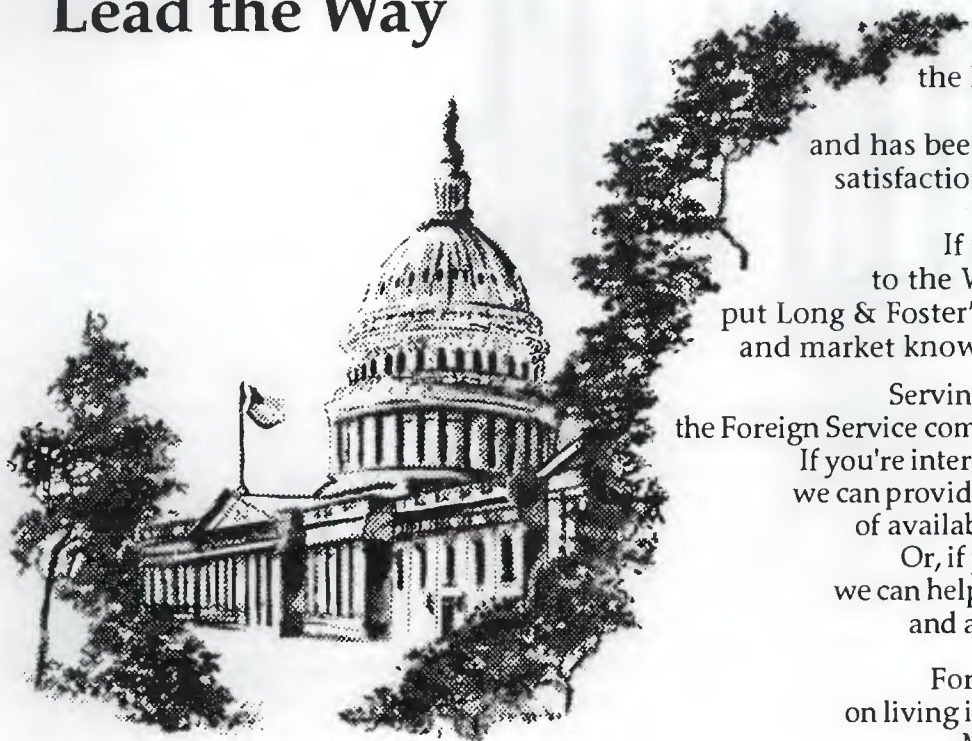
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PASSPORTS AND POLITICS

The search of State Department passport files for politically damaging information on Democratic candidate Bill Clinton set off a political firestorm last November. All of the fallout has not yet occurred, but the first casualty was the reputation of the Consular Affairs Bureau. As Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger acknowledged, its integrity, and, by extension, that of the State Department, was undermined by suggestions that records and personnel could be used for partisan purposes.

The goal of the file search was a

trick," smoke intended forever to remain smoke, but the trick backfired when overeager and unknowing Bush appointees at State took it seriously.

Within the department, criticism fell directly on the Bureau of Consular Affairs, which happened to be celebrating its bicentennial. Passport Services looked especially bad following stories contending that it maintained an "alpha file" of material on individuals, including raw intelligence reports and photographs, that could be politically and personally compromising.

The publicity may have been the

served from 1955 to 1977 and who was said to have amassed the compromising data with the connivance of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. Both were conservative and strongly anti-Communist. She was reputedly one of what Senator Joseph R. McCarthy termed his "loyal American underground." Some news reports even resurrected Knight's predecessor, Ruth B. "Ma" Shipley, who was reportedly tyrannical and arbitrary in denying passports during McCarthy's time.

Asked about the sinister-sounding "alpha file" at a press conference in November, Eagleburger tried to end speculation about it by pronouncing its death sentence. "If there is anything left of the 'alpha file,' it won't be that way very much longer," he declared. So far as can be determined, however, no "alpha file"—at least by that name—ever existed, except in the vocabulary of *Washington Post* source(s) in the State Department. Other pertinent files did exist, and those were searched for Clinton's letter. But those files remain intact. Without changes in the law and regulations, officials said, it is not appropriate to destroy them, although some of the records may be declassified or decontrolled.

The "alpha file" was most fully, and almost exclusively, described in a November 14, 1992 *Washington Post* article, which cited "sources" and "a knowledgeable source" for its information. The essence of its content was as follows:

In search of the

rumored letter from Clinton, written while a student at Oxford, in which he allegedly renounced his citizenship or asked about procedures to do so. The stakes were high. If such a document had been found, the election result and thus the course of history might have changed. The source of the rumor appears to have been Republican campaign officials. One ironic possibility is that the "letter" was merely a "dirty

worst in the history of Passport Services. It clearly showed the office in the worst light since the Red Scare denials of passports—legal, but morally dubious—to "subversives" a generation ago.

The disappearing list

The "alpha file," according to press reports, was begun in the days of Frances G. Knight, the passport office's legendary and controversial director, who

The Passport Office "had once retained tens of thousands of pages of 'classified' passport files on individuals, including reports, photographs and other material about U.S. citizens submitted by the FBI, the CIA, and other U.S. intelligence agencies." The records were compiled largely under the direction of Knight, "a staunch anti-Communist," who worked closely with Hoover.

"The ostensible purpose of the file, also known as the 'alpha file,' was to determine if a passport applicant had engaged in activities that would make the person ineligible to receive one.

"During the late 1960s, sources said, the Passport Office routinely received copies of voluminous FBI reports on prominent dissidents, antiwar protesters, and students—the product of Hoover's extensive surreptitious monitoring of the antiwar movement." Information on persons demonstrating before the embassy in London, as Clinton had done, would have been "forwarded to the alpha file."

"Many of the classified alpha files were destroyed" by Passport Services in the late 1980s out of concern that the Privacy Act might be violated. "But sources said that for a variety of reasons, some 'highly sensitive' material, including files of politically prominent individuals, was left intact among State Department documents in the warehouse facility where the officials searched Clinton's files," the *Post* said.

A few days after the *Post* account, The *New York Times* stated without

attribution that, "In the 1950s and 1960s, the State Department's passport office kept a computerized file on more than 243,000 Americans who were suspected of being 'subversives' or who might fail to 'reflect credit' on the nation abroad. The existence of the file was not disclosed until 1971. . . ."

Educated guesses

Asked about the "alpha file," Funk said "nobody in the passport service has ever used that term." But he added a bit more to its description. "Apparently," he said, ". . . it is a hanger-on from the old days of Frances Knight, and then the Warren Commission," which said records should be kept "somewhere in the passport bureau of people . . . who had renounced their citizenship, and that got expanded into other categories."

He interpreted the *Times*' story to suggest that over 200,000 names were in what he called "the famous alpha file." In fact, he said, "the actual number is 1,555 and they are all military deserters."

Career officials embarked on a search for the "alpha file" immediately after the *Post* story appeared and have concluded that no file by that name exists now; so far as they know, it never did. Those who worked in the passport

office during and since Knight's time said they never saw or heard of anything by that name. They would not be surprised to learn that she had kept a secret file, including scurrilous material as well as classified and unclassified information, starting from well before the Kennedy assassination in 1963. They also said, however, that Knight could merely have promoted the idea that she kept such a file to engender fear and enhance her authority. They insist as well that no hard evidence of any such files, by whatever name, was ever found after she left. Other officials, including some with intelligence responsibilities at the time, flatly deny that Knight kept any such file for any reason.

Knight, in a 1987 interview with Charles Stuart Kennedy for the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program at Georgetown University, was asked several times about the "Lookout List," a compilation of names against which officials could check any individual applying for a passport.



“Alpha

File”

BY ROBERT C. TOTH

The list was particularly suspect among civil liberty groups, especially during the McCarthy period, as a de facto "black list" run by Shipley and later by Knight. It was automated about 1959-60, after which it became known for a time as the Automated Visa Lookout System; since then it has been computerized. But Knight, 81 years old when the interview was conducted, was unable to discuss the list in any detail. She was not specifically asked about any "alpha file," because the phrase had not surfaced at that time.

The FBI public affairs office, in response to an inquiry, reported that no file carrying that name existed in its records. A search for anything approximating the *Post's* description produced a vague recollection that in 1987 or 1988, some "public-source material—newspaper clippings, about issues and individuals"—were found in FBI records and sent to the Library of Congress, according to a bureau official. A library official, however, said no records of such material could be found.

Another possibility was that if an alpha file existed in the mid-1970s, the extensive probes by Congress into U.S. investigative and intelligence agencies might have turned up a reference to it. However, nothing was found in the 1975 Church committee reports; and neither former Vice President Walter Mondale, who sat on the committee, nor the committee's chief counsel, F.A.O. Schwartz, recalls any mention of the name.

Look out

In the end, it appears that the file that has been termed the "alpha file" is simply a part of the venerable Lookout List, which dates back well before World War II.

The list today contains almost 300,000 names of individuals that are arranged into about 21 groups, or categories, each designated by a letter of the alphabet. In category C are persons connected with child custody cases. Those in D are indebted to the government for such things as trying to get a passport with a bad check. Persons in F are wanted for fraud. Those in L have lost their citizenship, those in Q have questionable citizenship. Category R are individuals sought in connection

with espionage activities.

Category A, which is most likely the vaunted "alpha file," was created "at the initiative of the department as a result of the Warren Commission recommendations" following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963, department officials said. It was initially designed to include individuals such as Lee Harvey Oswald, who had renounced their citizenship and were threats to U.S. officials on the basis of their actions or letters they had written. For reasons not precisely known, it was expanded to encompass two other types of individuals: deserters and draft dodgers.

The Warren Commission harshly criticized the FBI and Secret Service in the wake of the assassination, but it urged more coordination and information-sharing among all pertinent U.S. agencies in the future. "Protection of the president is in a real sense a government-wide responsibility which must necessarily be assumed by the Department of State, FBI, CIA, military intelligence and the Secret Service," it said. "The Secret Service and the FBI, as well as the State Department and the CIA when the president travels abroad, could improve their existing capabilities and procedures so as to lessen the chances of assassination."

The commission endorsed a post-assassination reform in which the FBI shared with the Secret Service all information on "subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists" who had threatened U.S. officials, and/or expressed violent anti-U.S. sentiments. The names of some 9,000 Communists, as well as others, were immediately sent by the FBI to the Secret Service. Potential defectors were also included, presumably to encompass Oswald based on his renunciation of citizenship. It is possible that this FBI material was also shared with the department's Passport Office to become the Lookout A category.

Officials provided no explanation for why deserters and draft dodgers were included in this A file, except to speculate that deserters were not far removed from defectors during Vietnam War days and draft dodgers were not far removed from deserters. Draft-dodgers got a blanket amnesty from President Jimmy Carter, so their names would

have been removed from the A file 15 years ago. Only deserters are currently included in the A category, Funk said, indicating that any individuals who pose a threat to U.S. officials are presumably contained in another Lookout category, perhaps the one with potential terrorists. Several officials suggested that deserters, while their names should be retained in the Lookout List, should be more properly included in a different category.

Cleaning out clutter

Passport officials flatly deny the *Post's* claim that "many of the classified 'alpha files' were destroyed" in the late 1980s for fear they violated the Privacy Act. The act, passed in 1974, required that information possessed by the government on an individual be disclosed to that individual on his or her request, and that the privacy of such files be more closely guarded than previously. Stricter enforcement of classification guidelines were instituted, officials admitted, but passport files as a whole, not just the putative "alpha file," were cleaned out in the late 1980s for other reasons.

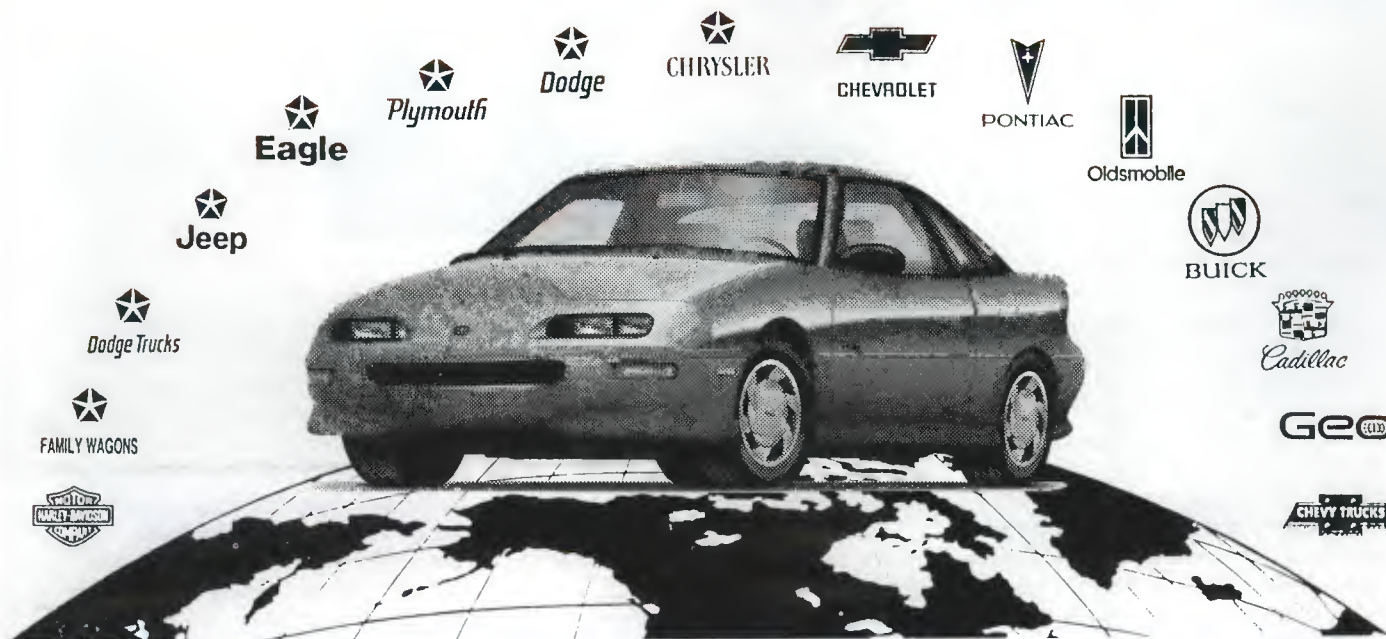
More than 70 cabinets full of records, dating back to 1963, were reduced to about 20 cabinets in a space-saving effort, officials said, and classifications were reviewed with the aim of eliminating gross over-classification. Privacy Act considerations were not a factor in the classification review, officials insisted. Some of the files were stamped confidential for as little reason as the inclusion of a newspaper clipping that had been sent over by the FBI, one official said. Only about 5 percent of holdings were actually destroyed, officials said, with the rest declassified or "decontrolled" (ie., downgraded to a lower classification) to permit storage in less stringently secure facilities.

Today, approximately 300,000 names are contained in the Name Clearance Database, which contains no classified material. In addition, about 4,000 name-related files contain classified material, officials said.

Overall, Funk concluded, his investigation had uncovered "a series of blunders in some cases, a series of incredibly poor lapses in judgment in other cases, some politically motivated, some not.

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EXIT TAMPOSI

The rationale for the file search, conducted September 30 and October 1, 1992, was three media requests under the Freedom of Information Act for material on the rumored Clinton letter. Inspector General Sherman M. Funk found after an extensive investigation that the response to the requests was "in accordance with normal FOIA procedures," with two exceptions, one minor and one major. The minor fault was that the requests were erroneously ordered expedited by a clerk, and when the error was recognized, it was not corrected. "Botched work," said Funk.

More significant, he reported, was that Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs Elizabeth M. Tamposi "promoted a search for documents in Clinton's files of unprecedented scope, urgency, thoroughness, and seniority of participants." Consular officers in London and Oslo as well as in Washington were ordered to examine their files. The search was spurred not only by the FOIA requests, but also by congressional pressures and, "at least in some part, by partisan hopes to derail the Clinton campaign," Funk said in his 38-page report. "There was indeed an attempt to use the Department of State, the records and the people of the Department of State, to influence the outcome of a presidential election," he told a press conference.

The only apparent result of the search was that Tamposi and her team became concerned that "something" had been torn from Clinton's 1976 passport application. She immediately took the matter to Funk, on October 1, and Funk took it to Eagleburger. The FBI was called in, and its agents concluded within "about nine days . . . that there was no tampering," Funk said. Apparently no bells warning that the search itself was suspect sounded with Funk or Eagleburger at the time. But two weeks later, about mid-October, Eagleburger asked the Inspector General's Office to examine "how the search had been handled." The I.G.'s report was released November 18. But that was four days

after a detailed *Washington Post* story was published and became the primary basis of public discussion and concern.

In releasing the I.G. report, Eagleburger admitted to yet another error in handling the controversy. The department had been "wrong," he said, when it stated early in October, in response to initial news reports about the file search, that only low-level officials were responsible for whatever went on. "We acted precipitously and without full knowledge of what we were saying," Eagleburger said.

But at the same time, again seeking to put the issue to bed as early as possible, he declared that the I.G. investigation "has not found evidence of criminal wrongdoing" in the case. Funk described his own inquiry as "much ado about very little." A month later, however, several "potentially criminal matters" were referred to the Justice Department. An independent counsel, or special prosecutor, was appointed to look into whether crimes were in fact committed. The General Accounting Office was asked by the House subcommittee on international operations to investigate the entire matter, particularly with an eye to new legislation if needed; its report was expected only after the special prosecutor has decided if any criminal charges should be brought.

Stepping down

Funk's findings and recommendations, meanwhile, led to the immediate dismissal by President Bush of Tamposi and the departure of some of her team. Five other officials were cited by Funk as taking part in the search, three of whom were political appointees. One was Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Affairs Steven K. Berry, who was demoted and promptly quit to go to work for the minority staff of the Senate For-



ign Relations Committee. Another was Tamposi's special assistant, Steven Moheban, a native of her home town, who quit "to pursue business opportunities in the private sector." Third was her public

affairs officer, J. Michael Brennan. The other two, both career civil servants, were Tamposi's acting deputy at the time, Carmen A. DiPlacido, and Passport Services' director of program support, Richard P. McClevey.

The inspector general's report concluded that McClevey's actions were "not inappropriate to his position. He carried out the improper orders that he was given but on several occasions questioned the unusual actions that were taking place, warned others about the need to comply with proper procedures, and refused to sign off on incorrect statements. We do not believe disciplinary action against Mr. McClevey is necessary or appropriate. . . ." As for the other career officer, however, the Funk report said DiPlacido "crossed the line from appropriate conduct of duties." He "demonstrated poor judgment" by failing to challenge Tamposi's directions or to confirm that the search was legal and within normal bounds. "Were he still holding that post (of acting deputy), we would recommend that he be removed from the position. We conclude that disciplinary action is warranted against Mr. DiPlacido." What action has been taken, if any, by the director general of the Foreign Service is not disclosed by any department on privacy grounds.

The special prosecutor is reportedly focused on three other Bush appointees who moved from State to the White House to help in his reelection campaign. They are Janet G. Mullins, who had been head of Congressional Affairs; Margaret DeB. Tutwiler, who was assistant secretary for public affairs; and James A. Baker III, former secretary of state.

—Robert C. Toth

There were some procedures in the Department of State that needed tightening and, in some cases, substantial revision. . . . Maybe even one of the laws involved, the Freedom of Information Act, and possibly the Privacy Act, required some tightening."

Eagleburger indicated, however, that such changes would not go far enough, since they would not preclude another file search in the future led by political appointees. "If I had any advice for the incoming administration," he said, "it would be you had

better pick your people carefully." ■

Robert C. Toth is former national security correspondent of the Los Angeles Times. He is also a member of the Foreign Service Journal editorial board.

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REFORMING THE

The end of the Cold War provides the United States with an opportunity to end intelligence abuses, restructure the CIA (saving money in the process), and use our extensive intelligence capabilities in support of the new crises and challenges of the post-Cold War environment. We can no longer afford a bloated intelligence community that defines too much information as intelligence and spends nearly \$30 billion a year. Several fundamental steps are in order.

The clandestine activities of the CIA—both covert action and, to a lesser extent, clandestine collection—grew out of an exaggerated notion of the threat to our security. These activities should be severely reduced. I believe that covert operations rarely have been beneficial and often have proved counterproductive; they have undermined our values and detracted from our message that the United States functions more

openly than other nations. CIA propaganda and attempts to influence foreign elections should end. Covert military intervention should stop, and CIA's para-

military capabilities should be transferred to the Defense Department.

More than \$40 million was appropriated last year to foment a coup against Saddam Hussein. The covert program finances opposition groups inside and outside Iraq, clandestine radio stations, and disinformation campaigns. There is little likelihood of success for such an operation and even less promise that a "successful" operation would have a favorable impact on politics in Iraq or the balance of power in the Persian Gulf.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is planning to fund positions for more secret agents at a time in U.S. history when we should be reopening the debate on whether we need any at all. The product of clandestine collection of intelligence has, in my opinion, been marginal. We must abandon the myth that, while open collection can track *capabilities* of foreign nations, only secret collection can determine *intentions* of foreign leaders. This theory has proven flawed a number of times in the past: CIA sources failed to decipher Leonid Brezhnev's intentions toward Czechoslovakia in 1968, for example, or Anwar Sadat's toward Israel in 1973, Menachem Begin's toward Lebanon in 1982, or Saddam Hussein's toward Ku-



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wait in 1990.

The major problem is that CIA agents have little access to foreign leaders. In most regions of the world, little can be learned from clandestine sources, but a great deal can be determined from "end-of-year assessments" by U.S. ambassadors

and memoranda of U.S. negotiators. Former Ambassador Robert H. Miller's *Inside an Embassy: The Political Role of Diplomats Abroad*, which was published last year, provides ample evidence of the value of political reporting and analysis produced by U.S. embassies.

POLITICS AND INTELLIGENCE

To improve further the quality of information, intelligence must be divorced from operations so that no director will be tempted to slant analysis to bolster covert action. Doctored analysis often has been used to justify unnecessary, and even odious, covert operations that cost innocent lives. In the 1980s, William Casey and Robert Gates, then director of central intelligence and deputy director for intelligence respectively, used flawed notions of Soviet support for international terrorism to justify support for the Contras in Nicaragua. An estimate in 1985, advancing notions of Soviet influence and Iranian moderation, provided a rationale for



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CIA

BY MELVIN A. GOODMAN

the sale of arms to Teheran, which most now agree was reprehensible policy. Intelligence information on Salvadoran death squads was repressed to protect operational support of U.S. clients in El Salvador.

An example of poor management and slanted intelligence was the CIA's release in April 1985 of an assessment that blamed Moscow for the assassination attempt against the pope. Less than a month after the report's release, an internal CIA investigation strongly criticized the assessment, particularly the conjectural nature of the analysis and the reliance on information from second- and third-hand sources four years after the attempted assassination. Whether intended or not, the efforts of Casey and Gates in April 1985 served to undermine State Department and NSC officials who favored negotiations with the new leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, who had acceded to power in March.

In reassessing the CIA's operations, the new director, R. James Woolsey, must place a spotlight on a major but little understood component of the intelligence community, the directorate of intel-

ligence. The DI, however, is deeply troubled—as evidenced by pervasive allegations of politicization that emerged during the confirmation hearings for Robert Gates in 1991—and its analytical performance has been uneven over the last decade or so. Some of its more spectacular intelligence failures have included failing to predict the fall of the shah, the explosion at Tiananmen, the collapse of the Soviet economy and the Soviet empire, Moscow's strategic retreat, Iraq's nuclear capability, and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The analysts themselves are highly capable, but they have been demoralized by the undermining of their professional and ethical standards.

MIDDLE-AGE SPREAD

What is wrong? Three major problems are immediately in evidence: politicization, bureaucratiza-

tion, and a fundamental misunderstanding of the proper interaction between intelligence and policy-making. The Gates hearings provided ample evidence that politicization is real and serious. In many cases, analysts have been right, notably on Soviet and Third World issues, but have been overruled up the

line. Unfortunately, the pressures that lead to politicization are felt precisely when the policy stakes are highest. The CIA concluded last year, in Gates's own words, that "over half of the respondents to [a] task force survey said that forcing a product to conform to a view thought to be held up the chain of command occurs often enough to be of concern."

The CIA and particularly the directorate of intelligence are showing signs of bureaucratic middle age: too large, too layered, too top-heavy, too inflexible. Multiple layers of review have yielded cautious reports that mix conventional wisdom with artful obscurantism—a brew that Henry Kissinger dismissed as "rationales for inaction." General Norman Schwarzkopf found CIA assessments riddled with ambiguities and referred to them during Desert Storm as "mush."

The CIA's cumbersome bureaucracy contributed to the problems of strategic



Robert M. Gates

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William J. Casey

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intelligence support during both Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Too much attention was given in Washington to tactical intelligence, which could be provided by airborne reconnaissance in the Persian Gulf, rather than to strategic analysis of Iraq's overall ability to fight. CIA analysts in the future will need to provide greater analytic and operational support to the military, while avoiding the problems of politicization that were created when the directorate of intelligence provided support to covert action programs in Central America and Southwest Asia.

The Central Intelligence Agency will have to become more *central* to both military and political decision-making in Washington. The linkage between analyst and policy-maker is extraordinarily weak and, on a day-to-day basis, most analysts are given scant sense that their work is relevant to policy. They get little or no feedback from policy-makers and seldom have contact with policy officials. In fact, such contact is often discouraged by upper and middle management, which prefers to control the dialogue. This is the flip side of the

problem of politicization; analysis either suffocates in the embrace of policy or withers from neglect.

The function of intelligence is to provide the policy-maker with the most complete and objective analysis possible to ensure that policy decisions are at least well informed. It is important that analysts have access to the policy-maker in order to understand policy considerations, ensure that support is timely and relevant, and gain an appreciation of the type of information that is useful. The difficulty is to accomplish this without being coopted by policy-makers who naturally prefer that intelligence support their favored policies.

The gap between analyst and policy-maker is reinforced by the fact that CIA analysts often lack the depth of expertise and experience to be credible to their audience. The CIA screening process, which CIA psychologists refer to as "Hell Week," is better suited to the hiring of clandestine agents than intelligence analysts. It is a system that attracts very young, inexperienced candidates from the bottom up and tends to discourage lateral entries and experienced

analysts who have traveled abroad and established contacts in foreign academic and research communities.

The typical analyst was recruited directly out of graduate school and has little or no experience in any other professional environment. Analysts with little experience overseas, who cannot speak or read the language of the countries of their specialization, are preparing intelligence for consumers who are on a first-name basis with their foreign counterparts. A recent study determined that only 20 percent of CIA officers in Mexico spoke Spanish; the situation is worse in the rest of Latin America.

When Iraq threatened Kuwait, the directorate of intelligence looked in vain for an experienced analyst with long-term, in-depth experience on Iraq. But the system does not nurture such people and, as a result, senior policy-makers often attach relatively little weight to CIA products. A recent study of intelligence consumers conducted by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence revealed widespread disdain for the intelligence community's analytic work.

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SCHOLARLY TRADITIONS

Jim Woolsey has taken a major step in moving toward intelligence that is more timely and relevant in naming Joseph Nye, the director of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, as the new chairman of the National Intelligence Council (NIC). He needs to appoint to the council, however, more experienced members who have ties to academic and policy communities around the world.

Nye seems to realize that intelligence belongs to a national community of scholars—not to a secret society—and that intelligence must be objective if it is to serve the national interest. He is positioned to return the agency to the tradition of William Langer and Sherman Kent, who headed the CIA's Office of National Estimates for more than 20 years and understood that policy-makers will usually demand simple answers to complex questions from intelligence agencies. Distinguished historians in their own right, Langer and Kent set the general tone for research and analysis in the 1950s and 1960s, never permitting political interference with the production of intelligence estimates. When John McCone—the director of central intelligence in the early 1960s—tried to block a controversial estimate on Cuba in 1962, Kent insisted that the document be released to the White House.

In addition to restoring integrity to the estimating process, Nye needs to expand the mission of the NIC to include a professional staff capable of drafting intelligence estimates and to introduce outside scholars and researchers to that staff. The CIA must find a way to take advantage of the expertise of the Carnegie Endowment's Paul Goble on Russian nationality issues, Georgetown University's Murray Feshbach on demographic issues, and the University of Missouri's Robin Remington on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Such expertise would be more available to the CIA if the intrusive security measures used to screen secret agents were not also applied to academics and researchers.

NEW AREAS FOR INTELLIGENCE

Nye, a leading scholar of international politics and the author of *Bound*

to Lead, which deals with non-traditional sources of political power, could serve as an intellectual magnet for the CIA. We need to scrutinize current work on political, economic, and military issues and make room for analysis and production on such non-traditional problems as ethnic politics and violence, social migration, and the environment. Paul Kennedy's recent work, *Preparing for the 21st Century*, has outlined the major challenges ahead in the areas of demographics, technology, and ecology. The CIA has expertise in these areas but has not been successful in producing finished intelligence useful to policy-makers.

The CIA possesses the world's most important collection of information on oil reserves, demographics, and water supply and could be particularly helpful in providing information on a variety of environmental issues, particularly using baseline data from satellite photography on global warming, ozone depletion, and environmental contamination. Spy satellites already provide key environmental data on the earth's di-

minishing grasslands, forests, and food resources. Vice President Al Gore, when he was chairman of the Senate Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee, was active in pushing for release of this data to the scientific community, but the CIA has not always been cooperative.

U.S. national security interests must be redefined in the wake of the Soviet collapse in order to take into account the impact of environmental issues on U.S. policy choices in the 21st century. The scarcity of water in the Middle East, the social migration caused by coastal flooding in South Asia, and the contamination caused by nuclear and chemical weapons stored and tested in the former Soviet Union will make U.S. policy far more complicated than it was during the period of the Cold War. The combination of CIA collection capabilities and outside environmental expertise, for example, could address serious national security problems.

Unfortunately, at his confirmation hearings, Woolsey indicated that he

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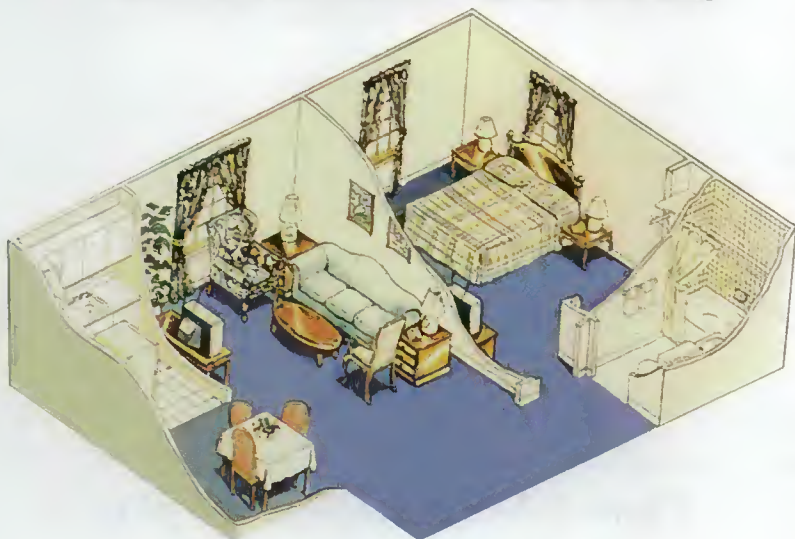
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was more interested in protecting the sources and methods of CIA collection than in disseminating intelligence to outside experts. Woolsey was particularly lukewarm to the idea of sharing intelligence with international agencies, although he wrote last year in *Partners for Peace: Strengthening Collective Security for the 21st Century* that the "U.S. intelligence community, now facing a reduced mission, should support the UN" in monitoring sanctions against Iraq. It is unlikely that the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) can successfully monitor strategic-weapons production in North Korea or that the UN can monitor the programs of Saddam Hussein without support from the CIA. With the proliferation of international peacekeeping missions around the world, the intelligence community is a natural resource for providing political and military intelligence to peacekeepers in Bosnia, Cambodia, and Somalia. Any war crimes tribunal for Bosnia will require funds and expertise for collecting data on numerous political and military officials in the former Yugoslavia; this would be a less difficult task if the political and biographic assets of the intelligence community could be used.

The changed nature of international conflict will alter the intelligence needs for future confrontations. As Michael Nacht, dean of the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy, has noted, the CIA has too many people who "know the dimensions of an SS-18 silo," and too few "who speak Farsi and understand weapons proliferation." We are already witnessing terrible violence and low-intensity conflict in the Balkans and the Caucasus that is impervious to great-power influence and increasingly opaque to intelligence analysts. The acquisition of strategic weapons by such third-rate powers as Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Syria will complicate both policy and intelligence problems in the 1990s. The willingness of Israel and South Africa to share their weapons technology will make it easier for pariah states such as Iran and North Korea to acquire weapons.

Woolsey made international headlines at his confirmation hearings by describing the sharing of economic intelligence as the "hottest current topic in intelligence policy" but acknowledged more recently that the idea was "loaded with foreign policy and legal difficulties." His predecessors, including Bob Gates, were against industrial espionage, particularly the sharing of intelligence information with U.S. corporations. The CIA, moreover, has made major errors in estimating the strengths and weaknesses of foreign economies, incorrectly describing the Soviet energy situation in the 1970s and overestimating the Soviet and East European economies in the 1980s. U.S. corporate executives themselves are remarkably unenthusiastic about developing intelligence ties to the CIA, which would compromise their status abroad.

A MORE VIGILANT WATCHDOG

Even with reforms, the CIA will need to be given greater scrutiny than it has received from the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI). The SSCI must be more rigorous in monitoring the CIA, particularly its directorate of intelligence. The world of analysis is not as provocative as the clandestine world of spies and covert operations, nor does it have the appeal of spy satellites and other cutting-edge collection technologies. Its misuse can do considerable damage to U.S. national interests, however, and it should be carefully monitored.

President Clinton's appointment of William J. Crowe Jr., former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as the director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB) is a good one. The PFIAB has been moribund over the past decade and has not provided oversight and direction to the intelligence directorate. A vigorous PFIAB and a more energetic PFIAB staff would encourage better intelligence at the CIA; at the same time, it would force the SSCI to be more rigorous in examining the intelligence product.

Crowe's board, however, is not impressive. He recently named a group that includes such novices as Zoe

Baird and Vernon Jordan, as well as former Senators Thomas Eagleton and Warren Rudman. Rudman, a member of the SSCI in the early 1990s, used the confirmation hearings for Gates in 1991 to block any discussion of politicization.

TRUTH TELLING

If President Clinton is looking for additional sources for spending cuts, the \$29 billion intelligence budget is a likely place to begin. Woolsey believes that budget cuts would be "crippling," but the CIA had more than enough money to spend in the 1980s and still missed the strategic retreat of the Soviet Union, the political and economic collapse of the Soviet bloc, and the strategic weapons program of Iraq. President Clinton pledged during the campaign that \$7.5 billion could be cut from the intelligence budget over the next five years but now favors an increase in spending on intelligence. The Congressional Budget Office suggested savings of \$18 billion over the same period, with cuts in satellite reconnaissance, tactical intelligence, and clandestine operations. Even the Bush administration had mulled a 20 percent cut.

The final step is that CIA must return to the major purpose of intelligence—telling the truth. The CIA has been used too often not to inform and enlighten policy-makers, but to bolster preferred policies.

The new director of central intelligence must not involve the agency in policy matters where it does not belong and must restore competence in legitimate areas of expertise. He must provide a new sense of direction in the post-Cold War age and, in doing so, cannot permit political interference with the production of intelligence. If he does so, critics will stop mocking the Biblical inscription in the entryway to the CIA headquarters in Langley, "And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." ■

Melvin A. Goodman, who teaches at the National War College, analyzed the Soviet Union for the CIA. He is working on a political biography of Eduard Shevardnadze.

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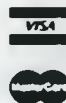
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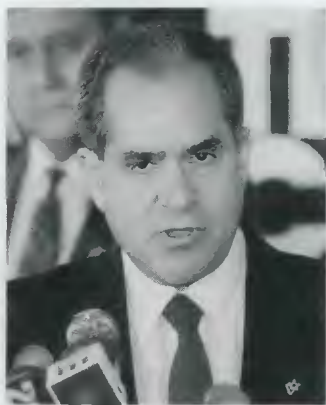
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Jorge Mas Canosa

THE CUBA

From sub-cabinet appointments to government broadcasting, Jorge Mas Canosa is making his influence felt in Washington

BY GEORGE GEDDA

Shortly before President Clinton took office, the State Department completed its annual review of international terrorist activities. Countries that sponsor terrorism are ineligible for certain trade and economic benefits, and the list of offending countries is updated each year as a guide to federal agencies with a need for such information. This year's list contained the same six countries as last: Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Syria, and Cuba.

Of that group, the most interesting selection was Cuba because of President Fidel Castro's announced commitment to abandoning international adventurism. In remarks made on January 11, 1992, Castro ruled out assisting "revolutionary movements" as well as providing "military aid outside our borders. That is a stage that we, too, consider something of the past." Cuba's most important internationalist mission, he said, is to see to it that "our revolution survives."

There is no evidence that Castro has failed to live up to this historic reversal of a policy of more than 30 years' standing. But his announcement caused nary a ripple in Washington; well over a year later, Cuba has remained on the terrorism list. Officials say the decision to leave Cuba's pariah status unchanged was not gratuitous, because one re-

quirement for removal from the list is a change in government leadership in the country in question. That, of course, has not happened in Cuba, and officials cite that as the reason for keeping that status quo. More importantly, they acknowledge that purging Cuba from the list would be interpreted as signal of a softer policy toward Cuba—a signal that both parties have wanted to avoid at all costs. Why needlessly alienate the South Florida exile groups? Maintaining Cuba on the list was the path of least resistance, and the State Department took it.

Squeaky wheel

That is but a small illustration of how domestic political considerations have come to dominate American policy toward Cuba. The South Florida exiles and like-minded groups elsewhere have demonstrated time and again that money, organization, and tenacity can help decide policies in Washington.

No country in the world has been singled out by the State Department more than Cuba for human rights abuses. For the past several years, the U.S. delegations to the annual meetings of the UN Human Rights Commission have made Cuba their priority target even though one could easily argue that Cuba is not among the worst rights violators.

The exile influence has been felt in other ways. The Reagan Administration

created a special station, Radio Marti, in 1985 to beam programming to Cuban listeners. This was followed up in 1990 with the initiation of TV Marti. Neither would have gotten off the ground without exile support.

Another triumph orchestrated by exiles was the so-called Torricelli bill named for a New Jersey Democrat, Robert Torricelli. Among other provisions, the legislation tightens U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba by barring foreign-based U.S. corporations from selling to Cuba. This was a \$500 million to \$700 million business last year, depending on whose figures are cited. The legislation was signed last October in Miami by President Bush, amid considerable pre-election hoopla. Flanking Bush during the festivities was the exile community's most powerful figure, Jorge Mas Canosa, leader of the Cuban-American National Foundation and a man whose clout is difficult to exaggerate. Says longtime Cuba watcher Carla Anne Robbins, "When Mas Canosa says jump, politicians lace up their sneakers." Ernesto Betancourt, a former director of Radio Marti who was dismissed after a falling-out with Mas Canosa three years ago, says that without National Foundation influence, Radio Marti, its video counterpart TV Marti, and the Torricelli legislation never would have been approved.

Mas Canosa, whose foundation has

LOBBY



Former President Bush signs legislation in Miami that tightened the embargo on Cuba. Left to right: Senator Connie Mack; congressional candidate Lincoln Diaz-Balart; Jorge Mas Canosa, Chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation; President Bush; and U.S. Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

been lavish in its contributions to Torricelli's re-election campaigns, believes the Castro regime must be isolated to the maximum extent possible. He opposes anything that smacks of a dialogue with Havana. He and his allies keep a close eye on personnel in Washington whose duties are related to Cuba. Says Gillian Gunn, a Cuba scholar at Georgetown University, "The foundation has acquired a reputation for being able to cripple careers of those government bureaucrats that cross it. Whether this reputation is deserved or not, it exists. Therefore, the foundation has a constant chilling effect on the discussion of Cuba policy options within the U.S. government, regardless of which party is in power."

Bye, bye Baeza

Just before inauguration day, alarm bells around Miami started ringing when it was disclosed that Clinton intended to nominate New York lawyer Mario Baeza as his assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs.

To the Clinton camp, Baeza seemed like a godsend. An Ivy League whiz as a student, Baeza had made a name for himself at the prestigious Debevoise and Plimpton law firm in New York. In recent years, he has specialized in Latin American privatizations, and his brilliance was widely acclaimed. The incoming administration saw him as a gold-plated "two-fer"—a black Hispanic who had spent much of his boyhood in Cuba.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher interviewed Baeza on January 12 and came away impressed. Peter Tarnoff, the undersecretary-designate for political affairs, was equally enthusiastic. But when word of Baeza's impending appointment reached the Cuban community in Miami, the reaction was one of incredulity, and a telephone campaign to head off the nomination was launched. Baeza's record on Cuba-related issues was limited, and he had no known links to South Florida exiles. Most important, his ideological credentials seemed questionable.

Baeza, it turns out, had made two trips to Cuba. The first was in 1987 as part of a joint trip of associations of black and Hispanic lawyers. But it was the second trip that gave the most ammunition to his opponents in Miami. He traveled there with 125 other U.S. businessmen as part of a mission to study Cuba's new policies toward foreign private investment. Such a visit did not seem to square with the spirit of the 32-year-old U.S. embargo on trade and financial dealings with Cuba.

Still, Christopher seemed convinced that the job should go to Baeza. A review of the participants in the trip to Havana was undertaken, and all seemed to be loyal Americans. Two days before the inauguration, a handwritten unofficial list of 15 nominees for State Department posts appeared in congressional offices. Baeza's name was on it but, curiously, it was crossed out, suggesting a last-minute change of heart. When the Clinton transition team announced its choices for State Department posts the day before the inauguration, the Latin

America slot was left vacant. The other 14 candidates mentioned in the memo were nominated.

Mas Canosa had not been alone in opposing Baeza, whose prospective nomination had stirred concern among many exiles not aligned with the foundation. Some Cuban-American Democrats were critical of the trip he had made to Cuba, noting that it was sponsored in part by the Cuban government. Beyond that, other critics noted that Baeza had no known links to the array of Latin Americanists in Washington and elsewhere who have influenced government policy for years.

As for his 1992 trip to Cuba, Baeza insisted he had a professional interest in the subject of private investment and, besides, he wanted to deliver supplies—four suitcases worth—to needy relatives still on the island. Angry about the campaign against him, he issued a faxed statement to news organizations a week after the inauguration. "I am not now nor have I ever been a supporter of Fidel Castro or a sympathizer with Communist causes," he said. He expressed "shock and dismay" over the outpouring of opposition to his candidacy.

Passions were further inflamed when Representative Charles Rangel (D-NY) leaped to Baeza's defense. Rangel has little in common with Mas Canosa and his allies, who are uniformly conservative and overwhelmingly white. He said the exiles were opposing Baeza because he was black. "Mario doesn't look like them," Rangel said, touching off expressions of outrage from many exiles, who contended the issue was ideology, not race.

Syndicated columnist Roger Hernandez asked: What would African-Americans have said if Ronald Reagan had appointed as chief of Africa policy someone who had traveled to South Africa with potential investors at the time when new U.S. investment was illegal?

Sensing that emotions were getting out of hand, the administration decided to allow a cooling-off period, reasoning perhaps that the issue was a debilitating distraction from Clinton's domestic policy goals. Baeza, meanwhile, decided to fight for the nomina-

tion rather than be pushed to the side by people who really didn't know him. Offers of alternate positions within the administration seemed to have little appeal to him. But in early March, the White House announced it had settled on a career diplomat for the post: Alexander Watson, a veteran Latin Americanist. The choice seemed a prudent one; it was hard to find anyone with an unkind word for Watson.

Friends and allies

This was not the first time that the exile community had made its influence felt on a personnel matter. Indeed, Mas Canosa was instrumental in the appointment of Armando Valladares, a former Cuban political prisoner, as chief U.S. delegate to the U.N. Human Rights Commission in 1987. Valladares gained attention after documenting the abuse he had suffered during long years of incarceration. Cuban officials dismissed Valladares as a fraud, portraying him as a hapless counter-revolutionary who once worked as a police officer during the days of the Batista dictatorship. (Valladares denies it.) Havana responded with incredulity when President Reagan named him to the UN body.

Also in 1987, the foundation's influence was felt with the appointment of Georgetown University professor Jose Sorzano to the Latin America slot at the National Security Council. Sorzano, an exile and close friend of former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, is an advocate of a hard line toward Cuba. Betancourt, the former director at Radio Marti, says neither Valladares nor Sorzano would have been nominated without foundation support. On the other hand, there is little evidence the foundation has had a significant role in the selection of Interests Section chiefs in Havana.

One Interests Section official who ran afoul of the foundation, however, was Jerry Scott, a public affairs officer in Havana who became embroiled in the "Great Cuban Art Flap" in 1989. It seems that Scott, as a humanitarian gesture, bought 80 paintings by a dissident Cuban in Havana named Nicolasito Guillen for \$300. Forty of

the paintings later found their way into a Miami museum run by Ramon Cernuda.

Mas Canosa charged that Cernuda and Scott were engaged in a smuggling operation in violation of the Cuba embargo.

In what seemed to many to be a politically motivated gambit, prosecutors brought charges against the two. Happily for them, a federal judge threw out the charges, but not before Scott's tour of duty in Havana had been brought to an abrupt end. Wayne Smith, a former head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, called the whole episode despicable, and he blasted the U.S. government for not defending Scott publicly at the time the charges were brought, noting that Scott had worked tirelessly to help political prisoners. As for Guillen's paintings, Scott donated them to the museum to raise money for Cuban human rights groups.

In 1982, Mas Canosa complained loudly after a Cuban stowaway who had landed in South Florida was returned by the Reagan Administration to Cuba. The deportation seemed at odds with 1960s legislation giving virtually all Cubans the right to remain in the United States once they arrive.

Just who was responsible for the decision to send the Cuban back is a matter of some debate, but Miles Frechette, head of the office of Cuban affairs at State, took the blame; he claims he was made a scapegoat. The commotion was such that then White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III became involved. Under heavy exile pressure, Baker had Frechette removed from the Latin America bureau over the objections of then-Assistant Secretary of State Tom Enders. With Enders's help, however, Frechette's career was set back only temporarily; he eventually went off to Cameroon as ambassador. His request for a return to the Latin America bureau has been turned down, however. He has spent the past several years working in the Office of the Special Trade Representative.

The irony is that of all the Cuban affairs office directors of the past two decades, Frechette was perhaps the most hostile to the Cuban regime. Informed once that the Cuban media

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had derided him as a "troglydte." Frechette asked the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, only half in jest, for a full text of the article, seeing it as a way to impress his superiors. Some in the exile community considered him too abrasive, though, and they made him pay a price with the help of a Reagan Administration that was all too eager to please its Miami supporters. Says Otto Reich, a Cuban exile who was named to three senior posts in the Reagan Administration, "I thought Frechette was attacked unfairly."

Exile input

In some ways, the foundation's influence is greater on humanitarian affairs than political issues. Five years ago, the government agreed to allow the foundation to facilitate the entry to the United States of Cubans living with non-resident visas in such countries as Spain and Costa Rica.

The foundation handles paperwork, resettlement costs and health insurance for these Cubans while the role of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is limited to interviewing them. Thus far, an estimated 8,000 Cubans have been helped under the program, and one official said the credit belongs to the foundation. "Give them credit for doing a good deed," he said. Another official said the agreement dramatizes the preferential treatment given Cubans by the U.S. government. "Haitians can't come from Haiti but Cubans can come from Spain," he said.

Exile influence in Washington began to be felt in the early 1980s, with the advent of both the Reagan Administration and Mas Canosa's foundation. Before that, Cuban exiles counted for little in Washington.

Indeed, when President Carter took office in 1977, one of his first priorities was to loosen ties with military dictatorships in Latin American and to strengthen ties with Cuba. In fact, Cuba was the first country visited by Carter's newly installed Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Terence Todman, in the spring of 1977. In September, the two countries agreed to open diplomatic missions in each other's capitals, the first official

link since relations were broken 16 years earlier.

The contrast between Carter and Clinton could not be greater. Carter sought an accommodation with Cuba, while Clinton sought to outflank the Bush Administration from the right on Cuba. Short on funds and eager to make political inroads in Florida last spring, Clinton endorsed the Torricelli proposal, saying, "I like it." Grateful Cuban-Americans, including some foundation members, chipped in—depending on whose figures are cited—somewhere between \$125,000 and \$275,000 to the Clinton campaign.

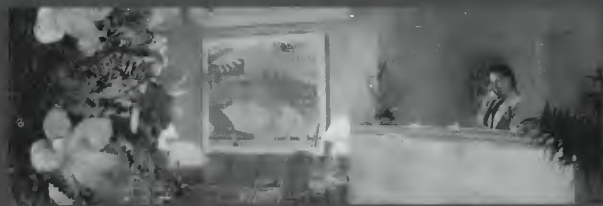
Worried that Clinton might steal the exile vote from him, Bush announced shortly after Clinton's endorsement of the Torricelli proposal that he was tightening the embargo against Cuba by requiring that ships carrying Cuban goods obtain special licenses to enter U.S. ports.

The exile community, with reason, felt its interests would be preserved regardless of whether Bush or Clinton won. Mas Canosa, after years of close associations with Republican administrations, did his best to ingratiate himself with Clinton. A week before the election, he had a friendly meeting with Clinton in Tampa, making clear he and his allies considered him a friend. It didn't take long for Clinton, as president, to prove Mas Canosa's point.

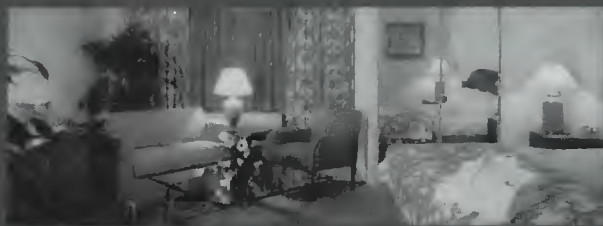
When the president's new budget proposals were announced in February, international broadcasting mainstays such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were slated for extinction by 1995. But one overseas station that was spared the budget ax was TV Martí, a National Foundation creation, which because of highly effective jamming by Cuban authorities, has the distinction of being perhaps the only TV operation anywhere with virtually no viewers. The picture may be fuzzy in Havana, but not in Washington; Clinton obviously has concluded that the \$18 million it costs to run TV Martí is a good political investment. ■

George Gedda has covered foreign affairs for the Associated Press since 1968.

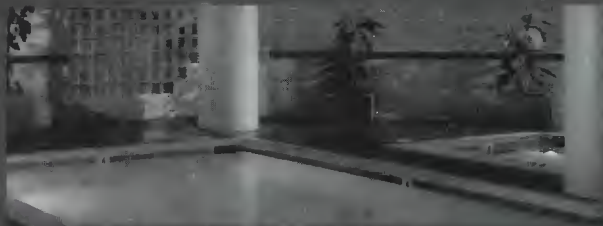
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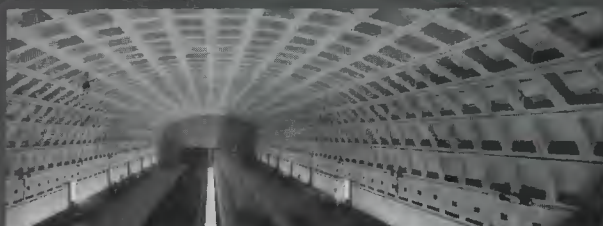
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Foreign Service Day 1993

Awards for excellence

By *Richard S. Thompson*
Professional Issues Coordinator

Five AFSA award winners were honored in a State Department ceremony on Foreign Service Day, May 7. The winners of three awards for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent" were Kenneth M. Quinn, John G. Fox, and Mark A. Pekala.

Kenneth M. Quinn received the Christian A. Herter Award for senior officers. As deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, he displayed outstanding leadership and courage in dealing with the emotional and controversial issue of POW/MIAs in Southeast Asia. His creative policy proposals have resulted in freedom for significant numbers of political prisoners in Vietnam and Cambodia, a greatly increased flow of information about the fate of American servicemen, and movement toward normalization of relations with Viet-

nam. The award was presented by Christian A. Herter Jr.

Ken Quinn joined the Foreign Service in 1968 in Vietnam, where he spent six years as an adviser. During a subsequent tour at the National Security Council, he helped evacuate hundreds of South Vietnamese associates. His assignments have included a tour as a Pearson Fellow on the staff of the governor of Iowa, refugee and narcotics counselor at the U.S. mission to the UN in Vienna, deputy executive secretary under Secretary Shultz, and DCM in Manila. In his current position he



AFSA Award Winners

Top, clockwise: Mark A. Pekala receives the Harriman Award from Ambassador Pamela Harriman; Ambassador Robert Oakley accepts the Rivkin Award on behalf of John Fox from Mrs. John Sterry Long; Rivkin award winner John G. Fox; Herter award winner Kenneth M. Quinn; Bohlen award winner Sheila M. Switzer helps in a nursing home in Madrid; Irina Wallace receives the Delavan Award from George Harrop.

chaired the inter-agency group of POW/MIA Affairs and, as a member of the U.S./Russia POW/MIA Commission, was part of the first U.S. government delegation ever to be permitted inside a Russian prison.

Rivkin Award

The William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level officers was won by **John G. Fox**. Ambassador Robert B. Oakley received the award for John Fox from Mrs. John Sterry Long, widow of the late Ambassador Rivkin. Fox received the award for his service in Somalia, where he helped with the start-up of Operation Provide Relief. As political officer to Ambassador Oakley, he contributed to the arrangements that permitted the peaceful deployment of UN troops, both Pakistani and American. He was lauded for his tireless efforts toward political reconciliation and the reconstitution of local authority.

Fox joined the Foreign Service in 1985, after accompanying his wife, USIA officer Karen Aguilar, to posts in Vienna and Lagos. He has served in Benin and Washington and is now political officer at USNATO in Brussels. He and his wife were posted to Somalia in 1990 and were rescued by Marines from the embassy compound after heavy fighting broke out in Mogadishu. He then returned to the area to follow Somali politics until July 1992 and returned again with Operation Provide/Restore Hope until January 1993.

Harriman Award

Mark A. Pekala won the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers, which was presented by Ambassador Pamela Harriman. While serving in the Office of Weapons Proliferation Policy in the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, he demonstrated exceptional drive and determination in leading U.S. efforts against missile proliferation. Under his leadership interagency working groups were organized to further U.S. anti-proliferation policies. His achievements in carrying out a variety of special assignments, including two



Award presenters included (left to right): Christian A. Herter Jr., Mrs. John Sterry Long, George Harrop, and Ambassador Pamela Harriman.

months at the new U.S. mission in Baku, Azerbaijan, were unique for a junior officer.

Mark Pekala worked in the Office of Soviet Analysis at the CIA and was a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institute before joining the Foreign Service in 1989. He served in Warsaw before his current post. He speaks Russian, Polish, and French and will be moving to the Russia desk in EUR/ISCA in July.

Delavan Award

The Delavan Award for Foreign Service secretaries was won by **Irvina Wallace**, secretary to the administrative officer in Algiers. She demonstrated outstanding performance as *de facto* personnel officer and made unusual contributions to embassy morale during a difficult period of evacuation. She helped families deal with the departure of spouses and children in the face of a growing terrorist threat by writing circular letters to evacuees and organizing activities for those left behind. The award was presented by George Harrop, a relative of the Delavan family.

Bohlen Award

Sheila M. Switzer won the Avis Bohlen Award, given to a Foreign Service family member who has contributed the most to advancing American interests at a Foreign Service post. Sheila Switzer, the spouse of Thomas Switzer, a USIA officer in Madrid, has been a remarkable representative of the embassy community and the United States to Madrid's volunteer organizations and to the urban poor of the city. She has worked with Spanish organizations on projects to help the

elderly, the homeless, handicapped children, abandoned children, and single mothers. Her example has inspired others to similar efforts and demonstrates the best of America. Ambassador Harriman also presented this award.

Sheila Switzer is a native of Mexico and has accompanied her husband on tours to Venezuela and Yugoslavia, as well as two Washington assignments. She has two girls, 11 and 17, and has been active as a volunteer in each country where she has lived.

Sinclair Awards

Also announced were the seven winners of the Matilda W. Sinclair Award, which recognizes achievement in the study of a hard language. These were: **Kathleen J. Brahney**, Indonesian; **Bryan W. Dalton**, Vietnamese; **John Kunstadter**, Bulgarian; **Earle Litzenberger**, Bulgarian; **John Mullen**, Japanese; **Jeffrey C. Schwenk**, Thai; and **John Underriner**, Thai.

National Advisory Council on the Public Service

On May 7, at the invitation of the National Council on the Public Service, the AFSA State vice president participated in a focus group on motivation and excellence. This council is an outgrowth of the 1989 report of the National Commission on the Public Service, which recommended that an independent advisory council be established to monitor the state of the federal workforce. The council reports to the president and Congress on the status of the national public service and makes recommendations for its improvement.

20 students win AFSA/AAFSW merit awards



Merit Award winners from Washington pose with Ambassador Edward J. Perkins (left), AAFSW President Christine Shurtleff (left) and AFSA Committee on Education Chairman Robert H. Miller (right). Winners are (l-r): Danessa Carragher, Nicole Bonnaffon, Nelson Saiers, Carrie Matthews, Robert Penner, and Sarah Silberstein.

The 1993 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards were given in honor of Ambassador Edward J. Perkins for his commitment to education and support for the awards program. At a ceremony on Foreign Service Day held at the Department of State on May 7, local winner Carrie Matthews accepted a certificate and check on behalf of all recipients from Ambassador Perkins.

The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards recognize the outstanding academic achievement and extracurricular activ-

ities of Foreign Service high school seniors. Funds for the awards come from the yearly AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Panels composed of AAFSW, USAID, State, USIA, and retired community members submitted 33 finalists to the AFSA Committee on Education, which made the final selections.

Of the 20 winners, 14 are female and six are male. Nine are seniors in the Washington D.C. area, three attend other U.S. schools, and eight are

Merit Award Winners

Ingrid Ahlgren	Jennifer Ang
Dana Bigelow	Nicole Bonnaffon
Danessa Carragher	Elizabeth Carson
Christopher Connell	Crystal English
Sherine Hamdy	Benjamin Johnson
Tara Malloy	Carrie Matthews
Garrison Morfit	Robert Penner
Elizabeth Rabadan	Nelson Saiers
Sarah Silberstein	Jennifer Sherman
Elliott Stein	Ilana Sumka

Honorable Mention

Jorge Arellano	Julia Becker
Timothy Billo	Joseph Bimmerle
Christa Craven	Adrian Gall
Lydia Misch	Andrew Neilson
Lisa Olsen	Amy Parker
Erin Rollman	Jennifer Schmiel
Kevin Wiegand-Mejia	

studying at overseas schools. Fourteen are dependents of State personnel, five represent USAID, and one represents Agriculture.

AFSA issues guidelines on EEO

by Sharon Papp
Legal Counsel

Recently, AFSA prepared and distributed guidelines (*AFSA Notice 4*) explaining the timetables and procedures for pursuing an equal employment opportunity matter through the statutory EEO procedures and through the Foreign Service grievance system. AFSA has also prepared guidelines (*AFSA Notice 5*) for employees accused of discrimination or contacted as witnesses in EEO cases.

These guidelines are available at AFSA's Labor Management office (Room 3644 Main State) or from AFSA post representatives overseas.

Prior to an AFSA-initiated amendment to the Foreign Service Act, employees could pursue an EEO case only in the agency's EEO office. Since November 1991, however, employees have had the option of pursuing their case through the grievance system. As employees may not bring an EEO case in both administrative fora, they must elect one or the other. An employee is deemed to have made an election with the filing of a formal EEO complaint or

a grievance. An employee wishing to file an EEO complaint *must* consult with an EEO counselor within 45 days of the discriminatory act or practice, or within 45 days of discovery of the act or practice. An employee wishing to file a grievance must file the grievance within 180 days of the discriminatory act or practice. (Employees assigned overseas have more flexibility in the period for filing a grievance. AFSA's Labor Management office can provide specifics.)

While an employee is not *required* to consult with an EEO counselor prior to filing a grievance, AFSA encourages you to do so because the counselor may be able to resolve the matter informally. In addition, the counselor will gather information and create a written record of the inquiry, which will be useful if you decide to file a grievance. (A contemporaneous written record can be especially important in a sexual-harassment case.) As consultation with an EEO counselor does not constitute an election. An employee may choose to file a grievance rather than an EEO complaint even

after participating in the pre-complaint EEO counseling stage.

All employees contacted by an EEO counselor or investigator have a duty to cooperate in the investigation. Employees have the right to bring a representative to any interview conducted by the EEO investigator and have the right to be informed of the nature of the EEO inquiry. Following the filing of an EEO complaint, employees accused of discrimination have the right to receive sufficient written information to allow them to fully respond to each allegation of discrimination leveled against them. EEO counselors and investigators are trained to conduct an inquiry or investigation in an objective and impartial manner. If the counselor or investigator does not appear to be acting in an objective manner, the employee should contact his or her agency's EEO office. Finally, the law protects employees who participate in good faith in the EEO process. Thus, an employee may not be retaliated against for opposing discrimination or participating in the EEO process.

Security and working conditions: bringing a case to the Hill

AFSA officers gave testimony before two joint House committees recently.

Occupational Safety and Health

On April 29th, AFSA President Bill Kirby submitted testimony in support of the 1993 Federal and Postal Services Employees Occupational Safety and Health Act (H.R.115). This act would strengthen the protections from unsafe working conditions afforded to federal workers by the Occupational Safety and Health Act, and is particularly important for Foreign Service personnel serving abroad. Under current law, federal workers lag behind the private sector in protections from unsafe working conditions. AFSA emphasized the health hazards faced by employees stationed in some overseas posts and stressed the need for such basic protections as the use of non-lead based paint in overseas living and working facilities, air-filtration equipment in areas of high pollution, and up-to-date safety equipment in official vehicles.

Due Process and Security Clearance Determinations

On May 5th, the AFSA State vice president testified on Foreign Service security clearance procedures and due process rights before a joint session of the Subcommittee on the Civil Service of the House Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, and the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the House Committee on the Judiciary. AFSA expressed its support for reasonable measures necessary to safeguard information essential to national security, but stressed that employees' due process rights must be preserved in carrying out the security clearance program.

AFSA's testimony focused on problems with Diplomatic Security (DS) investigations initiated to determine if clearance reduction or revocation is warranted, the appeal process for employees whose clearance has been reduced or revoked, and the regional security program.

In some instances, clearance investigations have continued for more than four years, with the affected employee having little if any access to informa-

tion on the basis for the investigation until receipt of a decision to revoke or reduce clearance. Because clearance is automatically suspended once an investigation has been initiated, this has a disruptive effect on the employee's current position as well as future career prospects.

AFSA supports the General Accounting Office (GAO) recommendations that the department use letters of suspension stating the reasons for the investigation and that a more independent appeal panel be established to ensure fairness and due process for the affected employee.

AFSA addressed difficulties in the regional security program, specifically the lack of a standardized debriefing process at posts. AFSA found that employees at many posts, regardless of the host-country's designation, were being asked unnecessary, offensive, and intrusive questions that went beyond acceptable standards for security inquiries. We brought this to the attention of DS and are currently working with them to standardize the debriefing forms.

Progress has been made in addressing these problems. DS has announced that it has begun issuing suspension letters to employees under investigation and that it is reviewing its appeal procedure.

Packing time allowance increased

by James Yorke
Member Services Director

At AFSA's initiative, the State Department has agreed to an increase in the amount of administrative leave available for packing and unpacking household effects. A revision to 3 FAM 465.3-16 will permit, if necessary, up to an additional 16 work-hours for packing-out, and up to an additional eight work-hours for unpacking.

Over the years it has become clear that the present 16 work-hours for

Teen Re-entry Video

On May 3, AFSA Member Services Representative Derek Terrell attended a showing of the latest re-entry video for teens. "America: A Different World" is co-produced by USIA and the Family Liaison Office (M/FLO) and provides an opportunity to hear the viewpoints and concerns that FS children may have when returning to the United States. The video was televised on Worldnet on April 15, 16, and 19, and should be available now at all posts with Worldnet capability. FLO has extra copies for distribution. People interested in viewing the video while in Washington may wish to contact M/FLO at (202) 647-1076.

packing and eight work-hours for unpacking is inadequate, particularly for those departing from or arriving back in the Washington area. The increase in the number of two-income families has meant that employees can no longer expect their spouses to be available at all times during the packing or unpacking process, particularly in the United States. With the introduction of the International Through Government Bill of Lading (ITGBL) system and new arrangements for the selection of packing companies, AFSA estimated that more time would be needed. We are aware that the new allowances will not be sufficient for every family but believe that the effective doubling of the allowance, albeit with special approval, will come closer to meeting the needs of all employees.

The new regulations apply to all the foreign affairs agencies—State, USAID, USIA, the Foreign Commercial Service and the Foreign Agricultural Service—and are effective now.

Career transition program for USIA

by Deborah M. Leahy

Member Services Representative

USIA management has recently announced that USIA Foreign Service employees who apply for voluntary retirement before May 1, 1994 will be eligible to participate in the agency's retirement counseling programs. In the past these programs have been limited to employees who faced involuntary retirement or separation as a result of a selection-board ranking.

The State Department conducts two programs—part-time and full-time—for employees who are seeking post-retirement employment. The employee is assisted in self-analysis and appraisal of skills and aspirations, as well as resumé preparation, development of a job-finding strategy, and assistance in conducting a second-career search.

Employees who choose the part-

time program will spend up to 40 hours in counseling sessions and another 40 hours in job-search interviews during their final months of employment. The full-time program allows up to 90 calendar days of concentrated job-search activities while remaining in a pay status. The employee's retirement will become effective at the conclusion of the full-time program.

While this program is slated only for employees who apply for voluntary retirement before May 1, 1994, AFSA will meet with management early in 1994 to review the program and press for continuation. Employees who have questions should contact AFSA's USIA office at (202) 401-6405.

AFSA Fund Addition

The name of Ellenanne M. LeClare was inadvertently dropped from the list of AFSA Fund contributors. AFSA appreciates her support.

Move to reduce career TICs halted

In April, AFSA was alerted by USAID members to the fact that the Office of Human Resources, Development and Management (HRDM) was doing a complete review of time-in-class (TIC) data, which could have resulted in a reduction from 25 to 22 years for literally dozens of FS-01 officers. Discussion with concerned officers and AFSA's own analysis indicated that such a recalculation was unjustified. AFSA's USAID vice president requested consultations with USAID management on the issue. After productive, collegial consultations, HRDM informed AFSA that it accepted AFSA's position on the issue, and that the contemplated reductions in time-in-class would not take place.

Legislative news

By Rick Weiss

Congressional Relations

As Congress returns from the Memorial Day recess, authorizing and appropriations committees are gearing up for floor actions on their legislation. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Kerry subcommittee and the full committee) plan to mark up their version of the Foreign Affairs Authorization Bill on June 9 and 22. The House Foreign Affairs Committee (Berman subcommittee and full committee) marked up their bill in May.

The appropriations committees, like their legislative colleagues, will be looking toward:

- reducing personnel in the foreign affairs agencies;
- reducing the number of Senior Foreign Service officers in State, USIA, and USAID, thus slowing promotions at all levels;
- resolving the "diet COLA" and "survivor annuity" issues by recommending a two- or three-month delay in COLA for each of the next three years for retirees. This will

save the \$5 million needed under the budget resolution and reconciliation legislation. Under this proposal, the survivor annuitant and those retired under disability will receive full COLAs for 12 months; retirees will receive full COLAs for 10 months in FY1994, 1995, 1996 (eliminating the "diet COLA" for those under age 62). Under this plan the reduction in survivor annuities as first proposed by the president and accepted by Congress would be eliminated.

Election Note

A listing of the members of the Professionalism and Participation slate in the slate's statement on page 3 of the May "AFSA News" included the names of Raz Bazala (candidate for USIA vice president) and Bruce Wharton (candidate for USIA representative) with the notation "endorsement." Mr. Bazala and Mr. Wharton state they were not consulted about the inclusion of their names on the Professionalism and Participation list and have asked the Election Committee to make clear that they are candidates on the Members Interests—United Foreign Service slate and support the election statements of that slate.

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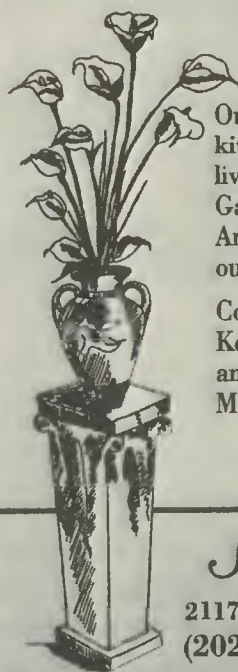
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FULL CIRCLE

*Clifton R. Wharton Jr. talks about
his return to the State
Department and foreign affairs*



Editor's Note: *This interview, conducted by Editor Anne Stevenson-Yang on April 26, has been edited, and the order of the questions has been changed.*

JOURNAL: I wonder if you would comment briefly on what you see as the role of the Foreign Service in the post-Cold War environment.

WHARTON: Well, I'm not sure I would ask the question that way. I would ask, "How does and should U.S. foreign policy change in the post-Cold War period, and then, to what extent can the Foreign Service contribute to the formulation of that policy and participate in its execution?" To me, that's a very different question and a more operational question. I believe that virtually every person, Foreign Service or not, whom I've run into in the building is very much concerned with making contributions to the ideas that are going to be involved in the post-Cold War period. I don't find anyone sitting there and saying, "Well, we'll wait to see what someone tells us." They're all making contributions.

The more difficult aspect of it always is the more human one, in terms of doing all of this in the context of a fiscal climate where you're facing severe resource constraints. As far as the human talent is concerned, I don't have any reservations whatsoever about the quality of our talent or any feeling that we have lesser talent or zeal to offer in the post-Cold War period than we did in the Cold War period.

JOURNAL: You mentioned fiscal restraints. Have you pinpointed any

areas that you think can give in order to free up the resources to focus on those things that really need to get done?

WHARTON: That's again asking the wrong question. The question is, "What can all the individuals in the agencies and the bureaus come forward with in terms of their suggestions as to the reprioritization of their activities?" I think there's nothing worse than having a mandated decree from on high as to what cuts should be made. Sometimes you have to do that. I have tremendous confidence in the wisdom, insight, and ideas of people at all levels of the organization.

JOURNAL: Could you talk about your work to propose ambassadorial assignments? What criteria do you look for?

WHARTON: Well, the career, which is the group the D Committee works with—the career characteristics are very much the ones that one would expect in terms of an individual's background, their previous service, everything from the relevance of their past experience to their linguistic capabilities. There's a whole range of things that one looks at, but it's a totality. I do not detect that there has been any radical change in the characteristics in the individuals that have been looked at, but one thing I do know, which may be topical, is that the committee does spend a great deal of time and care in seeking out and trying

to identify capable women and minorities who are in the pool. In doing that, I am also struck by the extent to which the director general has been very conscious about the upward mobility of women and minorities in the Foreign Service and looking to the future for such persons to be in position for ambassadorial posts.

JOURNAL: I know that you've had a good deal of experience in foreign aid. But have you thought about the role of public diplomacy in the post-Cold War world?

WHARTON: No, not a lot. When I took up this position, the secretary asked me to do several things. Number one was the budget, and, the way in which the budget has been formulated for presentation this year is different from the way in which it was previously done.

The second thing that the secretary asked me to do was to reorganize the Department of State, and I'm still working on that. The third thing was to refocus the Agency for International Development, and that activity I have been undertaking with a task force which is operating under the umbrella of an inter-agency working group, which deals with all U.S. international activities. That task force is hard at work and will come forward with its proposal soon. The fourth activity is related to the issue of the Foreign Service and some of the broader personnel issues related to the department. That fourth one I have not done as much on, because I have been concentrating on the other three. As a result, I have not devoted a lot of time to USIA or the other public-diplomacy activities. I may get into some of it when Mr. Duffey gets on board. He's a very dear friend, so I'm sure we'll have a very good relationship.

JOURNAL: During your confirmation hearing, you quoted Secretary Marshall as saying, "Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." How do you apply these words to the work of the Foreign Service?

WHARTON: The statement was made by then-Secretary Marshall when

he announced the Marshall Plan. As a young person, I believed he saw the activities of the Marshall Plan as being an important part of U.S. policy. When I told my father I was very interested in this brand new field, he asked me why, and I said, "Well, because I think it is going to become an important part of U.S. foreign policy." My father said, "That's all well and good, but that's sort of do-goodism." That was back in 1947, a good while ago, and I think that foreign assistance today has become a big part of our foreign relations.

Marshall's particular phrases related

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to the fact that the assistance was broader than just the specific, narrow set of political interests but was addressing a broader dimension of relationships for the United States. I think there are a number of instances where, in today's environment, the U.S. engages in foreign assistance activities where the level of our national interest is not as significant in a direct sense. Somalia is a good case in point.

JOURNAL: Would you care to discuss further how you see the U.S. national interest evolving with relation to Somalia and the former Yugoslavia? These are operations in which our national interest is not quite as direct as it has been in the past.

WHARTON: Your question is actually an indirect question about what I'm now working on in relation to AID. Rather than scoop myself, I won't say anything further.

JOURNAL: Maybe you could talk about yourself and your past in the Foreign Service. Where did you grow up?

WHARTON: I was in the Canary Islands until I was 10, then my parents sent me back to the States to go to school.

JOURNAL: Do you have any particularly fond or bitter memories of growing up in the Foreign Service?

WHARTON: Not a thing that's bitter. It was thoroughly delightful. But it was very different. The world in those days was a different world. There were no American schools, no international schools. I was taught by my mother with a correspondence course, the Calvert program. My papers would travel by boat to go back to Baltimore, be graded, and come back by boat. There was no air mail in those days. The community in which you were immersed and the children you played with were overwhelmingly nationals or the children of other diplomats, so that most of my closest childhood friends were Spanish, plus the Brazilian consul's children and the Argentine consul's children, Norwegian consul's children. There was only one other American family. You came away with a very massive integration into the international world. In this case it was a national community with an international flavor. It was a different kind of environment. The result was that you had an involvement and an insight into another national group. That experience, I expect, served me well as I moved into a variety of cultural settings over the years, whether it was working in Latin America or living and working in Southeast Asia. You acquire certain sensitivities to cultural differences through that kind of exposure.

Nowadays, when our sons were with us—and our younger son was born in Singapore—in Singapore our older son went to a British school, then to the Singapore American school. In Kuala Lumpur I helped them start the American school. Foreign children tended to interact with other foreign children, not with the nationals. The world of today's communication is such that you are bombarded with multicultural signals in a way that you're no longer totally

immersed in the national culture.

The reverse is very interesting. In the 1930's, when I came back to the United States, initially I did not know how to play baseball, football, basketball—I think I learned in about two weeks flat.

JOURNAL: Did living abroad put any special strains on your family or instead draw you together? Your mother must have been a good teacher, to get you into Harvard at 16.

WHARTON: She was. You see, my mother was a college teacher before she married. My father went from high school to law school: he skipped college. My mother received her bachelor's degree the same year my father got his law degree, both from Boston University, and then she taught for a couple of years before she married my father.

Stress? No, not in terms of my upbringing. For example, when I was sent back to the United States when I was 10, I did not see my parents for three years. Sometimes people ask me, "Didn't you react to that?" Quite frankly, I didn't. That's the way it was. British children from the Canary Islands, they went back to school. It was a very different world. I suspect, in retrospect, it meant that I had less interaction with my father, but keep in mind that in those days you did not travel as much, you didn't go back and forth as much. It was expected.

JOURNAL: You've spoken very movingly in the past of your father's career in the Foreign Service and how you wanted to emulate him. Are you pleased to be doing so now?

WHARTON: In a way. Although I really wish he were alive, because I would love to hear the comments he might make, since I resisted going in. What happened was that I was at SAIS, and my Dad came back on consultations, and he took me to the State Department, wanting me to come down and be introduced to his friends. He introduced me to people like Grew and to Loy Henderson. They were all very close friends. They all said to me, "You're Clif's son. When are you coming in?" I went back to school at SAIS. As any 21-year-old who feels independent, it bothered me, because, as I said to my father, "If I go into the Foreign Service, even

though I've always wanted to, and I'm successful, I'll never know whether it's you or me. I'm named for you, we have the same name, and I really want to be somebody on my own."

He chuckled about it, and from time to time he would say, "Isn't it about time you went into the Foreign Service?" and I'd say, "no." I think when I became president of Michigan State University, that's when he stopped. But it was something that he wanted, and it became a bit of a joke with me as I went on. If he were still alive, I think he'd be tickled, but I also think he'd have a lot of fun with me.

JOURNAL: Do you think that the particular impediments that your father experienced as a black diplomat are mostly gone now?

WHARTON: I don't think they're gone in our society. I think they're lesser today in our society as a whole. They're significantly lesser, but they're still there. When my father was first asked to become a career ambassador, the ambassador to Romania, he came back to the States, and he asked the department,

"Am I being offered this job because I'm black or because I'm the best?" They said, "Because you're the best," and he said, "Then I'll take it." I think that's a good indication of the kind of man he was, even though he suffered more discrimination as a pioneer, because he was the first black to pass the Foreign Service exam. He spent 40 years in the Foreign Service, but if you were to ask him when it was all over if it was worth it, he'd tell you, "Absolutely."

I, too, have been a pioneer in several different fields. People ask me whether I've ever had any problems. Sure. But I don't spend much time worrying about it.

JOURNAL: Is there anything in particular that you'd like to tell the Foreign Service through our magazine?

WHARTON: Thus far, my expectations about the professional excellence in the Foreign Service have been confirmed several times over, and that has been quite gratifying. Of course, that may be interpreted as a bias, coming from a Foreign Service brat.

JOURNAL: Thank you very much. ■

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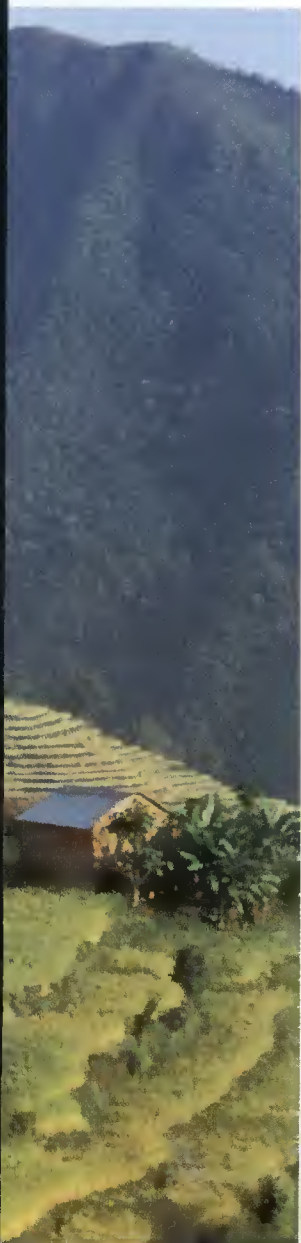
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Elusive Horizo

*In Nepal, where does development end
and cultural impoverishment begin?*

BY STEPHEN C. FORMAN



PHOTOS BY STEPHEN C. FORAMAN

NS

I'm in Nepal, moving on both knees and one hand along the dried-mud floor of Buddha Bahadur Gayak's house. With the other hand, I'm trying to lay an even line of red cardamom spice—a path for the Hindu god Laxmi to follow when she comes later in the evening. Each family in the village is constructing its own detailed path of spices, flowers, candles, and food to lead Laxmi to the small shrine in every house. As the goddess of good fortune, Laxmi's favor in the coming year is being sought through this day-long set of rituals. Three hours later, we're done, and we go to the tea stall across the way to talk. Our tea finished, the tea-stall owner walks over, motions Buddha outside, and points to the water tap, where Buddha proceeds to clean and dry his tea cup. The owner, a higher caste member, would not touch such a dirtied item.

Buddha, 62, is at the bottom of the social system. As a *Gaeena*, a member of one of four restricted castes, he is allowed only to fish in the lakes and streams for a living. Thirty-five *Gaeena* families live bunched together outside Pokhara in one of those Third World scenes of rambling shacks, mud, and dust.

I'm interested in Buddha on several levels. One is purely intellectual. As I've come to know him, I appreciate the many ways in which we're different and find pleasure in contemplating these distinctions. On a more practical level, however, I want to help him. Yet every time I attempt to move beyond simply giving him things—medicine, food—I run into problems. As I sit with him and try to explore a variety of methods to improve his situation, I get no response. He just has no sense of opportunity. He does not regard himself as an individual with "interests," "rights," or "needs." He rarely uses the pronoun "I." Instead, his comments all seem to be in reference to his extended family. He doesn't spend time alone, and he is perplexed at my private process of reading. His beliefs about his life seem cast in stone.

Buddha smiles and laughs a lot, though, is calm, and, despite his hard life, seems at peace. I used to think that he couldn't be as happy as he seems, but I was wrong. From his sense of himself as a tiny speck in a large cosmos, Buddha derives a feeling of power, meaning, and understanding. You hear it in his voice and in the calm of his rituals. He and other family members described their joy throughout the long, repetitive process of preparing for Laxmi. I had to work at stifling my boredom and discomfort after only 30 minutes of plodding about on the floor.

Our emotions may be the same, but our minds are different. I've been taught that I'm "respon-

sible," an unimaginable and absurd idea for Buddha. I have enormous choice—both real and perceived. I can choose what to believe in. I believe my freedoms constitute something valuable and culturally advanced.

Would Buddha be better off if he thought and felt more like me? Should I help him to hold and value such concepts as freedom, opportunity, and the chance to make something better of his life?

The scent of change

I explored this question during a visit with Chabi Lal Prasad, a farmer participating in a CARE watershed management project. Buddha and Chabi Lal have much in common, particularly their material poverty and, at the same time, the internal security flowing from their deep sense of connection to their land and people. For Chabi Lal, however, change is in the air. Through CARE, he is participating in an experiment that has important ramifications for his family's economic and spiritual future.

Chabi Lal's house sits on a high Himalayan perch in the watershed area of the Begnas and Rupa Lakes. To get there, I walk six hours, climbing 3,000 feet through a lush green valley of magnificent proportions. From top to bottom the mountainsides are terraced—hundreds of shimmering yellow-green steps, each filled with the nearly ready rice crop. I climb over a ridge at 6,000 feet and look at a 40-mile length of ice and rock, whose entire length reaches over 23,000 feet—the Annapurna Massif with its six major peaks, only 15 miles away.

"Nepal is so beautiful," I exclaim as part of my greeting when I arrive at Chabi Lal's house. I use that typical Western tone of optimism, friendliness, and a tinge of guilt.

"Nepali people are very poor," Chabi Lal responds, just as typically, with his own characteristic shake of the head. To Chabi Lal, beauty is problematic. He understands my statement, but the rough geography and location of his house contribute to his life's hardship.

CARE has shown Chabi Lal and other Begnas farmers how to grow and sell bananas—a simple



Above, banana farmer Chabi Lal. Left, the Begnas and Rupa Watershed area.

and conventional type of skills transfer. The farmers are making money from it. In fact, the growing of bananas and other fruit is the hottest topic with Chabi Lal and other farmers, largely because it seems to be the fast track to new income. This year Chabi Lal has sold 2,500 bananas at a rupee each. (Average wages per family each month in the hills of Nepal range from 200 to 1,000 rupees.) This is his first experience with so much cash income.

I ask Chabi Lal a question. "Imagine it's a year later. What has happened? What changes have taken place?" He responds, "I want to sell another 1,000 rupees of bananas. I want the fodder trees to have grown enough so that the water buffalos eat more and can give an extra liter of milk a day that I can sell."

When I ask him about what he will use his new money for, he is perplexed. "It's so obvious," he says. His answers—new clothes, possible school for another child—show he can imagine new uses for his new income. The development project has given him ideas about progress, risk, and an ability to change his environment.

Risky business

What does it mean "to develop"? What does it mean "to help"? On a recent visit to Nepal, the more I listened, the more complicated and obtuse the answers became. I wanted to explore the hidden risks and costs that come with extending Western-style concepts of "opportunity" to Third World people. I'm not the only one who wants to help Buddha and Chabi. Such intentions are held by many others and have become institutionalized in the form of the hundreds of foreign organizations now helping Nepal. In fact, half of the country's federal budget comes from foreign aid—about \$700 million last year. But the longer I visited, the more I wondered about what all this official philanthropy was accomplishing.

These days, "good" development is increasingly described as a process of transfer. We give something, and we want to ensure that those who receive it can use it when we're no longer there. Whether it's the knowledge to grow and



Krishna Khadka, CARE worker

sell a banana or the ability to build and operate a hydroelectric plant, the most-valued outcome is self-sufficiency.

Behind this goal is a deeper belief: the notion that what the Western world knows about how to live is good and useful, and that others who don't live as we do could benefit from what we've learned. Development people talk about the need to build a "social infrastructure," which usually means importing Western-style attitudes, behaviors, and capacities—ideas and attitudes about progress, opportunity, and personal responsibility.

Is there a particular social infrastructure best for all human beings? Are certain attitudes and capacities inherently useful and good? In Nepal, this debate rages. There are knowledgeable, thoughtful people who believe that what might be best for Nepal's long-term health is a full moratorium on all development dollars.

It's important to distinguish aid from development. I knew Buddha because I had met his son in a bazaar and heard about Buddha's need for a new roof, which had collapsed two years earlier. (Buddha and family had moved in with other relatives.) I later gave Buddha \$120 to purchase materials to build a new roof. It was a form of simple aid, and it gave me a powerful sense of doing good. But when the next roof falls in, Buddha will have no new skills (except maybe finding a Westerner to pay).

The problem with people like Buddha is that his mind and way of thinking are just not conducive to most forms of development. Buddha would be char-

acterized by many Westerners as "fatalistic." He has a deep personal sense of not having the option to act upon his world, to mold and change it so that it meets his desires. As you spend time with him, you see that he has evolved a variety of rituals and religious practices that nurture a deep acceptance of what he believes are unchanging, unbendable external realities. These practices infuse every conversation and daily activity.

The impact of change

When the Buddhas of Nepal and other countries in the Third World are exposed to development projects, they will think new thoughts. They will retain their religious beliefs, but their minds, exposed to glimmers of hope, will become mines of intentions, of forward motion.

To follow this process of mental change, we might look at one development project: the Begnas Tal/Rupa Tal Watershed Management Project managed by CARE. It is concentrated in an area of 110 square miles with 31,000 people. The area's population is increasing at 3 percent each year. Traditional agriculture and forestry practices have led to a downward spiral of soil degradation, deforestation, erosion and falling agricultural productivity. Monsoon rains are producing ever-larger landslides, which in turn are forcing people to move farther every year to find animal fodder and fuel for cooking.

The watershed-management project's strategy is to stabilize the physical environment through four distinct, yet inter-related activities: community forestry to protect existing forest and plant new forest; farming systems to introduce and extend improved agriculture and agroforestry techniques; bioengineering projects to achieve gully control, protect riverbanks, control landslides, stock ponds, improve irrigation canals, and increase the drinking-water supply; and conservation training to develop community understanding of the link between conservation and productivity.

The important concept is one of skills transfer. CARE believes that it can, over time, inculcate the skills involved in the project. But what is really being transferred?

Scientific management

Development organizations focus on fields such as agricultural science—areas of activity that have a clear sequence and are scientifically predictable. There is good reason for this preference: the techniques easiest to transfer are those that can be tested and controlled. “Do ‘A’ and then ‘B’ happens.” A certain amount of water and fertilizer at certain times, in a certain variety of tested soil, and presto: bananas.

Those project elements that revolve around the intricacies of human motivation and behavior are much less predictable, however. For example, CARE wants Chabi Lal and his neighbors to learn collectively how to manage a community nursery that will provide a variety of seedlings to individual farmers. The project also wants to help the farmers develop user groups for government-owned forests, which will be leased to these farmers if they can develop a management plan. Both these goals require a new skill: working collectively in a group process. There is far less agreement and knowledge about the core ability, or skill, or sensibility necessary to build cohesiveness among a group of Nepali farmers than there is about growing bananas.

Even the simplest element becomes complicated. I asked about a basic group dynamic—when meetings start. If the noted time for a meeting to begin is 3 p.m., when does it start? I was told that at the most recent meeting a key leader didn't arrive until just before 4 p.m. The leader claimed he had no problem getting to the meeting, but he casually stated that “It's 3 [o'clock] until it's 4.” Others in the room found this an appropriate response. Do development officials bring forward the Western idea that meetings should start on time and why starting a meeting on time is in their interest? Is starting a meeting on time important in a Third World village?

What if the local caste system is based on hierarchy in which power and authority must play a part—power that is distasteful to our more democratic sensibilities? What if women are excluded from the power structure? There are questions of cultural appropriateness in every step of the development process.

Chabi Lal didn't start his relationship with CARE believing that he could succeed at growing bananas. The idea of being successful at a new endeavor is the first “input” that has to be transferred. Chabi Lal had to be convinced simply to try, given his experience with past failures of government programs and an original ignorance of the very idea of “improving” one's condition. Development groups often have to start the process of interaction with farmers by taking them to visit some other location to see others' success with their own eyes.

The idea of success

When a CARE staff person convinced Chabi Lal that he could be successful at growing bananas, this persuasion was just as much of an input as the banana seedlings Chabi was subsequently given. But such sensibilities are much more difficult to implant, and the techniques for doing it are very ambiguous.

Inputs such as growing a banana, successfully managing a meeting, and convincing a man to believe in a future that is better are pieces of a powerful system of thought, which is transferred along with financial aid. Obviously, the economic resources foreign organizations bring are critical. USAID, CARE, World Bank, and others pay the salaries of the Nepali professionals who train farmers in agroforestry and agricultural techniques. They pay the salaries of “motivators” who work full time in training and motivating farmers for the new techniques and ideas. They pay for every variety of tool and building material.

Development groups expect a transfer of inputs and abilities such that they will gradually reduce their involvement. The process of transfer is incremental and occurs on many levels over the life of a project. One example in the CARE project is the transition to charging the farmers money for seedlings. Another is encouraging the farmers gradually to take a more active role in deciding what they want to plant in their community gardens. Another occurs at later stages, as the salaries of the community-garden watchman and motivators can be paid by the user group out of profits generated by the sale of fruit, not by CARE.

The Begnas project was designed with the expectation that, at some point in the next 10 years, it will be finished.

A good portion of development work takes place at a simple, direct level that doesn't sacrifice social values for material ones. For example, when Chabi Lal learns how to grow fodder plants on land previously too steep for agriculture, the material comfort of his life increases. When a donor brings the materials for a new water system and organizes a group of villagers to provide the labor for its construction, the community is left with greater material comfort and the experience of working together. When Chabi Lal learns how to diversify his agricultural techniques to grow bananas for his own consumption, his family's nutrition is improved.

A more complex issue arises if a development organization influences Chabi Lal to be an active participant in the larger cash economy: a system under neither the development group's nor Chabi Lal's control. Chabi Lal now sells his bananas in the market, and he begins to acquire income. Two risks emerge. First is the direct risk of whether it will remain feasible for Chabi Lal to grow and sell his bananas, as the foreign agency reduces its substantial support and involvement. The second risk relates to the larger economic system around the selling of bananas, beginning with the many factors that affect the long-term viability in the local banana market.

These risks are well recognized, and discussed, but hope and sense of opportunity must be fed; Chabi Lal will seek opportunity to the extent that he sees real evidence of his ability to exert control.

Herein lies development's greatest challenge. If Chabi Lal's hope is unfulfilled due to eventual changes in the banana market, what is he left with? Development groups must not abandon programs prematurely in the interest of “self-sufficiency.” Once having entered the system, development groups must stay until they can be reasonably sure that the resources they have brought are transferred permanently.

While the idea of self-sufficiency is now a part of conventional rhetoric on social change, the term does bring with

it some serious ideological baggage. Do I change Chabi Lal if I act toward him as if he has assets, capacities, resources, and responsibilities?

I think I do—but I've got to be careful. When a development organization uses "self-sufficiency" and "responsibility" to justify limits in involvement and expenditure, the details of the actual lives of individual men, women, and children can fade into the background.

If we are going to touch people's lives through development, we must make a commitment to follow through. If we intervene, we can't default and leave in the name of our cultural value of self-sufficiency. Development organizations must be prepared for forms of sustained commitment over many, many years.

A foot in the West

In Nepal, one can see the clear distinction between economic and social progress. The more I interacted with Nepali people, the more examples I had of individuals who were socially advanced yet economically backward. I noted a calm and joy as people participated in such aspects of life as observing religious holidays and cooking food. Anger was almost unheard of, and I don't believe it was repressed. I saw degrees of patience that were entirely new to me. In their work, people allowed for margins of time that allowed them to proceed in what appeared to be methodical, careful ways. Relatively little time was spent thinking about money or material advancement.

Buddha also isolates and magnifies a certain irony about the nature of social progress. Without analytical thinking, he's able to practice a variety of basic virtues. He cares about the people around him. I remember my surprise at his sophisticated ability to ask questions about my education, my family, and my beliefs.

This trait—a person's ability to identify and empathize with the details of others' lives, especially those who are different in terms of history and ethnicity—has become generalized in my mind as an indicator of a person's level of social advancement. Such an orientation immediately mitigates another, unfortunate human tendency—the inclination to typecast and stereo-

type others. Buddha's economic advancement—when and if it comes—must not be at the expense of his ability to be attentive and aware.

The Nepali people I met were subject to the same core, human emotions as Westerners. I met many desperate individuals whose lives were oppressive and unhappy. But in general, I liked how I was with the Nepalis. I liked what I thought about and felt during and after our interactions. Influence in cultural interactions goes both ways, and I believe my own good feelings are powerful pieces of data about the minds of those with whom I interacted.

Nepal, as with nearly all of the Third World, has a foot in the West. New images and experiences are becoming a part of their cultural lives. Nepalis are increasingly applying new standards to judge what their lives should be like. Sadly, it's doubtful many of them will be able to meet these new, externally imposed standards. They are not going to have the jobs, the houses, the gadgets and travel experiences that are held in front of them as standards.

I tried to study the effect the West has on the Nepali people, with our focus on economic growth and belief in the power of the individual. The Nepalis I met who were the most Westernized—front-desk clerks, tour guides, language teachers, aid workers—told me they were anxious, sometimes unhappy, and unsure of their future. Their institutions—arranged marriage, following one's father's occupation—were now all called into question.

Radical new set of abstractions is washing down upon them, including ideas about individualism, internal authority, freedom, human rights, and economic advancement. In listening to Nepali people, I felt the impact of the mass media, with its uni-directional barrage of images flowing from developed country to undeveloped, from West to East.

In fact, my very being—my shoes, my sunglasses, my camera, my shirt, my medicine, my pack—must have been contributing to a sense of deficit on the part of those with whom I was interacting. It was disturbing to confront just how easily needs and desires can be created. Even a glimpse of my flashlight,

and I'd created another desire, another wistful response. Needs are created, and I was creating them with every additional day in Nepal.

Interestingly, the major factor that seemed to even out the social relationship between myself and Nepali people was my struggle to speak the language. Sadly, it was about the only skill they had that they thought I desired.

Commitment and balance

The Nepali culture is undeveloped in relation to those elements of culture that Western theorists believe are critical to traditional economic progress and national success. Education, the acquisition of skills, delayed gratification, the work ethic—there is no question that many Nepali people do not have these attitudes and values to the extent that Koreans, Thai, and Singaporeans do.

But these traits, seemingly so valuable, need to be dissected and put in context. A work ethic toward what ends? Delaying gratification for what purpose? Skills built for what activity?

Nepali people have taught me that our Western definitions of progress—with our emphasis on the material and the economic—might need some serious tinkering. Meaning and value can come from many directions. Those who work in development must try to strike a balance, helping Chabi Lal to recognize there are parts of his life that he can affect, yet allowing him to retain his deep sense of causes and conditions—the "contingencies" that allow him to order his life and practice his religion.

Finally, I know now that these really are the "good old times" for deep intercultural experiences. In the coming years, Chabi Lal and Buddha's children are going to become a lot more like mine. My kids are going to become a lot more like theirs. We have no choice in this. As everything gets mixed together in this global village brew, I hope we'll be able to use the best of what we can both offer. ■

Stephen C. Forman is a management consultant in Seattle, Washington. He has spent considerable time in Nepal, India, and Pakistan.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

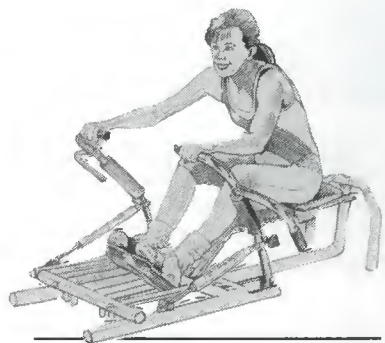
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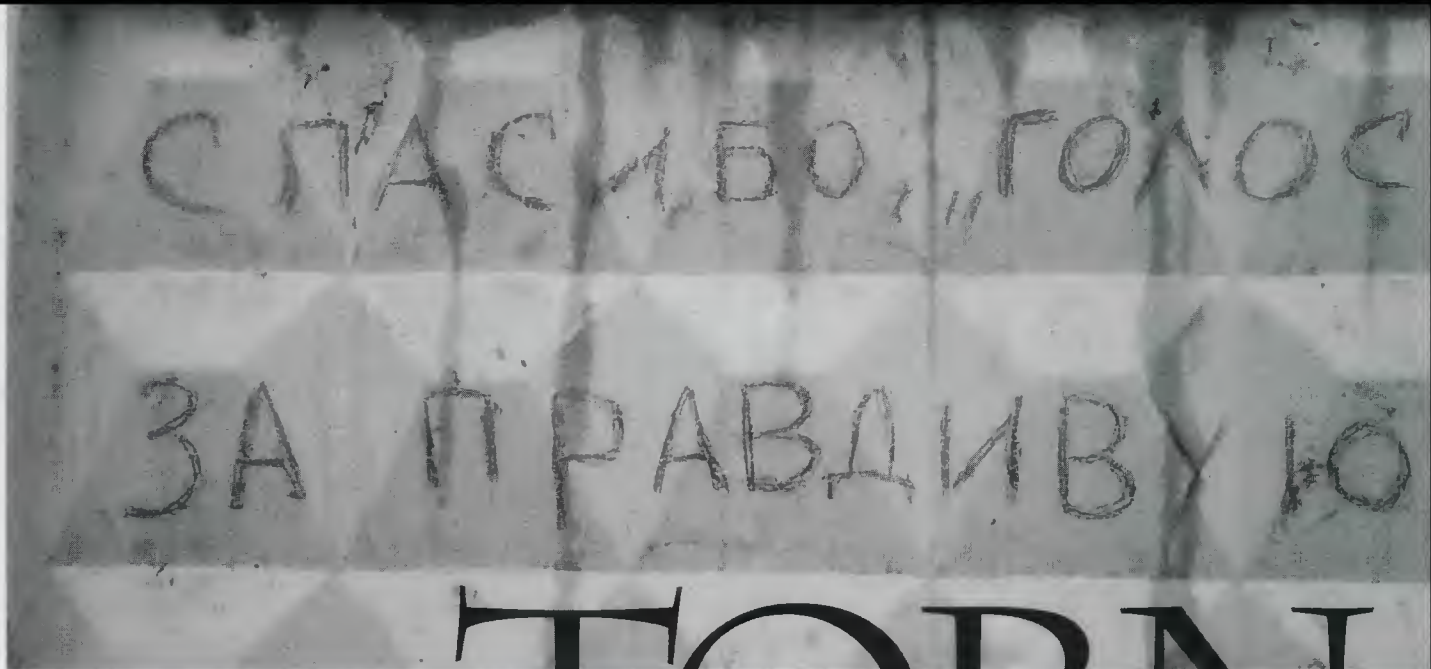
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Grffiti found on the wall of the Moscow White House facing the American Embassy after the August 1991 coup attempt in Moscow. The translation reads "Thank you Voice of America for the correct information."

TORN

BY WALTER R. ROBERTS AND HAROLD E. ENGLE

During the last presidential election campaign the Republicans claimed that the Reagan and Bush administrations had won the Cold War through their military buildup and hard political and economic stance against the Soviet Union. The Democrats replied by giving credit to the long-term bipartisan policies initiated by Harry Truman with his firm stand against Communist subversion in Greece and Soviet pressure on Turkey as far back as 1947.

Both these claims failed to address the basic question: Since in any war, hot or cold, the end arrives when one adversary, for whatever reason, cannot continue the battle, what was it about the Soviet system that made its collapse inevitable and complete?

The impact of the global information revolution, which the Soviet regime was able neither to repel nor wholly to embrace, has not been given adequate credit in the debate. The Soviet regime, having chosen in the pre-Cold War

period to rule by coercion and repression, had to maintain a very strict monopoly of information. It had to control what its citizens could learn and express about its conduct, about conditions at home, and about developments abroad. By the same token, to control the economy, it had to centralize all decision-making and treat as state secrets virtually all information on which the decisions were based and could be assessed.

At stake were the regime's image and power. At home, the Party-promulgated concept of the Soviet Union as a great country under selfless and all-wise leadership, struggling toward an ideal Communist society amid encircling hostile forces, would be threatened if people were able to garner information to the contrary. Even greater would be the danger if, disillusioned, they were to organize underground political movements to reform or overthrow the regime. Abroad, the appeal of the Communist ideology to disaffected foreign publics and the reputation of the Soviet state as a powerful friend and protector

of smaller states and downtrodden masses—so essential to its position in the world—would be damaged if potential converts and client states were to become aware of the shortcomings and vulnerabilities of the Soviet model.

Founded by Lenin and perfected by Stalin, with his sweeping purges and sprawling labor camps, this monopoly became increasingly difficult to maintain as the patriotic aura of Soviet participation in World War II began to fade, and particularly after Khrushchev detailed the excesses of Stalin's tyranny and closed down the gulags. Eventually, under the growing pressure of the information revolution, the effort to retain the monopoly eventually ended in a double failure.

As information from the outside world increasingly infiltrated the closed Soviet society, the resulting credibility gap pushed the regime into a crisis of support within its own body politic. By the 1980s, a post-Khrushchev generation just coming into positions of influence included many who were highly educated, had traveled or lived abroad, but



CURTAIN

HOW THE INFORMATION REVOLUTION HELPED BRING DOWN THE SOVIET UNION

who avoided Party responsibilities and were essentially apolitical in outlook. The Party youth organization, *Komsomol*, the traditional recruiting ground for future leaders, was having difficulty, despite changing its programs to feature proscribed forms of Western music and films, in attracting the best of the new generation into its ranks. Among the general population, cynicism and skepticism about the regime's actions and claims and distrust of the official media ("There's no truth in *Pravda* (truth) and no news in *Izvestia* (news)") were typical.

Pretending to work

On the other hand, the hidebound and deteriorating Soviet economy was neither equipped for nor permitted to benefit from the great changes in business organization, production, and marketing made possible in the West by computerization, miniaturization, and world-circling communications links. The consequence was a crisis in performance. Under Stalin, the country had made great strides at great cost in industrialization, particularly in

heavy industry. But the highly centralized planning and control system that had force-fed the industrialization drive acted as a damper on further change. Its directives favored heavy industry over consumer products. They measured success by gross quantity rather than usefulness or appropriateness of the goods produced. They neglected quality and environmental controls. They penalized the search for better technologies and methods and for new products to meet changing needs. A 1986 report cited the case of a mill producing metal piping that had introduced a cheaper, thin-rolled pipe equal in strength but half the weight of the heavy pipes then in use. Its adoption throughout the industry would have saved the country a good deal monetarily and in valuable raw materials. Lower costs, however, would have meant a lower aggregate value of output for the plant—and presumably for projects using the new pipe—which would have made them appear unsuccessful by the Soviet yardstick.

By the mid-1980s, managers had become discouraged—often having to resort to under-the-table deals and putting out unworkable products to meet quotas. Workers succumbed to apathy, indifference, stealing from the company, and expressing contempt for hard work and envy of those who earned good wages. The now-familiar street joke summed it up: "We pretend to work, and they pretend to pay us." Finished goods were notoriously shoddy. By one report, only 8 percent of Soviet machine tools could compete on the world market.

By Gorbachev's time, the Soviet failure to overcome the twin crises of support and performance challenged the regime's very ability to govern. Despite Gorbachev's belated but valiant efforts, the result was, as Kennan rightly observed, an internal collapse. Yet the pressures leading to the collapse were driven by the disparity between forces at work in the world outside (forces larger than the policies of any single government) and the self-defeating responses of the Soviet system.

Communication spiral

After World War II, the communication forces that had previously allowed both the United States and Russia to consolidate continent-wide rule (the telegraph, telephone, teletype, and radio) were augmented by new instruments: television, the computer, coaxial and fiber-optic cables, and satellite links. Globally, these set off a dynamic spiral of further communication development that would, over time, make counterproductive the Soviet attempt to maintain a monopoly of information.

During World War II, the Western allies had begun shortwave radio broadcasts in local languages to enemy and occupied territories. After the war, they not only continued these broadcasts but, as the Cold War began, extended them to include the Soviet Union. In these broadcasts, the perspectives on the news were sharply at variance with those of the controlled Soviet media. The differences intensified when, in the early 1950s, the United States established Radio Liberty to broadcast to the Soviet Union, at first covertly and later under open auspices, with news and views on Soviet internal affairs.

Throughout the Cold War the Soviet regime took drastic steps to counteract the impact of all these broadcasts. For a time it attempted to punish citizens simply for listening, relying on neighborhood watch committees to finger suspects. Later the punishment was directed at those found spreading information gleaned from such broadcasts. The main concentration, however, was on technical means to interfere with Western broadcasts through jamming. At great cost, the Soviets erected whole networks of transmitters, particularly around major cities, to send out electronic "noise" to overpower local programs at the precise times and on the precise frequencies assigned to foreign broadcasters.

Strenuous though these measures were, they did not fully prevent listening to VOA, BBC, or other Western stations. People would go into the countryside to find better reception. Even in the cities, some pockets existed where jamming was less effective and listening was tolerable. Western broadcasters, too, could marginally lessen the efficacy

of jamming by adjusting frequencies, times of day, and antennas. News gathered by listening to these broadcasts would then be passed along to trusted friends and family by the most elementary of communication channels, word of mouth. It was estimated that in the pre-Gorbachev era, one-fifth of the adult population in the Soviet Union tuned in to Western radio broadcasts at least once a week. The proportion was undoubtedly higher among intellectuals and professionals. The dissident Aleksandr Ginsberg, a vocal critic of VOA, when asked in 1978 how many people he thought listened to VOA in the USSR, unhesitatingly replied, "I don't know anyone who does not listen to VOA."

When audiotape recorders became available in the Soviet Union, ordinary citizens could record foreign broadcasts for replay to friends and associates. The advent of the videotape recorder further opened the breach in the Soviet monopoly of information. Persons living near the Soviet border could record TV programs from neighboring countries, including not only news but films banned in the Soviet Union, which could get broader circulation through the Soviet black market.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the Soviet monopoly of information, given these openings, lay in the mere existence of democratic societies in the West, as conveyed to Soviet groups through a thickening web of communication channels. Not only did the ideas, the music, the cultural activities, and aspects of daily life of these countries become known through Western radio and television programs and tourist incursions, but a growing number of Soviet citizens were able to travel abroad as members of trade, scientific, or technical delegations or as participants in official exchange visits with their counterparts from the West. Exchange programs have proven invaluable, because the impressions and knowledge an exchange visitor brings back cannot be intercepted at the border.

Reality check

Within the Soviet population, these citizens formed a growing pool of knowledgeable persons who were immunized in whole or in part against the

distorted picture of the West and the glamorized version of their own society fostered by the Soviet media. Dissident Soviet writers, artists, and political activists—originally limited to painfully small underground "editions" of their works passed from hand to hand—learned how to gain the attention of the Western media and thereby reach wider audiences, both abroad (giving them some protection from persecution at home) and in their own country (through playback of their works from outside).

Thus, by the time Gorbachev became general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1985, the erosion of the regime's monopoly of information had become so pervasive that it could no longer be ignored. There was a discrepancy between the "propaganda of success" promulgated by the state-controlled media, and the bleaker reality known to Soviet citizens from their own lives and from contrasting exposure to Western sources of information. As Gorbachev acknowledged in his 1987 book, *Perestroika*:

The presentation of a "problem-free" society backfired: a breach had formed between word and deed, which bred public passivity and disbelief in the slogans being proclaimed. It was only natural that this situation resulted in a credibility gap.

Implicit in Gorbachev's unprecedented candor in recognizing this gap was a realization that the regime could no longer sustain public support or even coerced acquiescence by reverting to the repressive and terrorist policies of the past. In fact, in a remarkable speech before the United Nations General Assembly in December 1988, Gorbachev admitted that, due to the information revolution, "the preservation of any kind of closed society is hardly possible."

His answer to this crisis of support was to draw upon the very forces unleashed by the information revolution. His policy of *glasnost* (openness), while falling short of unrestricted freedom of assembly and the press, sought to elicit public support through open press reporting and discussion of problems in

government and the economy, and through inviting participation in public meetings and in letters to the authorities. "It is essential," he insisted, "to learn to adjust policy in keeping with the way it is received by the masses, and to ensure feedback, absorbing the ideas, opinions and advice coming from the people."

This policy led, of course, to dramatic disclosures in the Soviet media about shortcomings and scandals at all levels of the regime, going back to the Stalinist period. But the greater honesty of the Soviet media in reporting and the openness in discussion, while increasing credibility (and thus enhancing support for reform), could not alone establish legitimacy or resolve the crisis of performance.

Crisis of performance

To overcome the second crisis, performance, Gorbachev sought to promote innovation and modernization in the Soviet economy and society through his policy of *perestroika* (restructuring). In this field, however, the ubiquitous barriers put up to maintain the monopoly of information proved more recalcitrant and Gorbachev himself less decisive and determined in defining and carrying out his policy. In a litany of shortfalls in the Soviet economy in a land of abundance, he noted that "our rockets can find Halley's comet and fly to Venus with amazing accuracy, but side by side with those scientific and technological triumphs is an obvious lack of efficiency in using scientific achievements for economic needs, and many Soviet household appliances are of poor quality." Underlying this "lack of efficiency" were Soviet weaknesses in those sectors at the heart of the information revolution: computers and computer-friendly transmission lines.

The Soviets had, of course, developed mainframe computers adequate to their basic needs in such areas as nuclear missile and space rocket pro-



Listeners gather around the radio to hear an early Voice of America broadcast.

grams. But the Soviet computer industry, while following closely developments in the U.S. and elsewhere, failed to match the pervasiveness and speed of experimentation and innovation in this field found in America.

For one thing, in an area where it is crucial, the industry was plagued by problems of quality control in manufacture. The centralized planning system also hindered the adoption and production of new and more powerful products. More importantly, the widespread introduction of computers in the economy would have brought a direct threat to the regime's monopoly of information. In a society where copying machines had to be kept under lock and key, the hardliners feared that computers would offer infinitely greater possibilities for creating and disseminating unauthorized and subversive documents. Nor could the data on economic performance amassed in the state planning system have been as easily doctored and as diligently kept from public scrutiny if it had been maintained through far-flung computer networks.

The Soviet economy also lacked high-capacity long-distance and local lines capable of carrying high-volume telephone traffic and advanced computer circuits. Such links would have contributed greatly to the productivity of the economy. But again, had they been given high priority, they would have made Soviet telephone surveillance, not

to say computer monitoring, more difficult—as the U.S. National Security Agency, faced with a loss in its own ability to eavesdrop, recently acknowledged. It was reported to oppose, on these grounds, an AT&T joint venture with Ukraine, which was to provide a fiber optic-system and direct international phone connections without going through Moscow.

In other ways, too, regime efforts to maintain a monopoly of information thwarted at-

tempts to close what Gorbachev called "the gap in the efficiency of production, quality of products, scientific and technological development, the production of advanced technology and the use of advanced techniques." For example, the Soviets mounted an extensive campaign to obtain from other countries as much as possible of the scientific and technical information available in the public domain, through buying up scientific journals and scholarly papers. But their acquisition achievements were diminished by their shortcomings in the utilization of such information. Censorship—imposed on even the most abstruse scientific documents—meant delays. A trickle-down distribution system meant that important information got sidetracked or delayed at upper echelons before reaching the working level, where it would be most useful. The universal penchant for secrecy and turf jealousies hampered the sharing of information and work plans among interested agencies and institutes, leading to delays or duplication of efforts. Lack of communication between scientific institutes and industrial enterprises was a further drag on economic progress. The institutes tended to pursue theoretical subjects, sometimes brilliantly; the manufacturers were generally not noted for interest in indigenous applied research, as opposed to importing already developed technologies from the West.

Gorbachev made strenuous efforts

to correct some of these deficiencies. As soon as it became possible to import personal computers from abroad, he instituted a program of placing PCs and teaching computer literacy in the Soviet school system. He also proposed to upgrade investment in high-tech long-distance communication lines within and between major cities, but the continued degradation of the Soviet economy and the breakup of the Soviet Union left these plans unfulfilled.

In effect, Gorbachev, instead of trying to combat the inroads of the information revolution, welcomed them and sought to use them to reform Soviet society. Through the outpouring of views inspired by *glasnost* he had hoped to mobilize public support, and particularly the support of the intellectuals and bureaucrats for the reforms called for in his policy of *perestroika*. But, as politicians in other countries have also discovered from time to time, public support is not the same thing as public demand for specific reforms. Those in the party-state machine who had been making the allocations, dispensing the favors, and enjoying the perks in the past preferred to continue doing so, responding only grudgingly and sparingly to Gorbachev's exhortations for new thinking and for measures to salvage the system. Their offices were, after all, not in a political structure that required them to respond to the needs for reform or be voted out of office by the public they were supposed to serve. Gorbachev, for his part, perhaps out of loyalty, among other things, to the one-party system in which he grew up, could not bring himself to undertake more drastic measures of political reform.

Open lines

It is pointless to speculate, of course, on what might have developed had Gorbachev remained in power in a still unified Soviet Union. But his sudden departure made clear that the doors he had finally opened to the information revolution had allowed only a bare beginning of a transformation to a stable democratic society and a thriving economy. Outside powers interested in continuing the transformation must keep in mind the need to secure its communication underpinnings, not only in comput-

ers and telecommunications but in the more old-fashioned forms of communication so important in the Cold War years.

The introduction of up-to-date computers and other information technologies will no doubt proceed apace and may grow exponentially with the injection of outside capital and knowhow. Successor states will need to provide a favorable investment climate for the introduction of such technologies and make sure they are also available to schools and institutes. A major challenge to outside donors will be to modify where necessary the COCOM policy of restricting high-technology trade. They will need to avoid the Catch-22 dilemma that so often arises in these cases, whereby an item or program essential for attaining the goal is promised but then withheld until such time as the goal has been reached. By then, it will be too late.

Easy to overlook in this transformation effort will be the importance of setting up some form of communication centers countrywide offering copying, faxing, word processing, and desktop publishing to private individuals or groups. Dr. James Billington, who, as librarian of Congress, was in Moscow at the time of the failed coup in August 1991, paid tribute to the essential contribution of fax, E-mail, and copying machines in linking the leaders holed up in Yeltsin's White House with the citizen supporters manning the barricades without. The need for more such facilities became apparent in the campaign leading to the April 25 referendum this year. If more widely available, such technologies could play a very important role in political and social development in these countries.

More important in the longer run for both political and economic transformation would be the effort to achieve universal telephone service—a goal written into law in the United States long ago. In the Soviet command economy, this goal was of little importance. After the needs of the military were met, priority for phone service went to government ministries and state organs (including enterprises) and to the Party hierarchy. Word from the top could be sent by phone (assuming they were working) along the chain of command. The cellular organization of the party in

each office, shop, neighborhood, or association allowed further word-of-mouth dissemination at each level. Of course, no phone banks were needed to receive incoming calls from the public. In a free society, however, particularly over so vast a territory, individual citizens need to be able to link up with relatives and other like-minded persons by direct voice contact. Donor governments will need to monitor and assist where possible the efforts of their private firms to participate in the upgrading of these telephone systems.

In addition, the new Commonwealth states will not fully enter the information age until their internal systems are themselves interconnected and linked to the outside world, not only by phone but by computer and other digital transmission circuits. When this happens, a scientist in Novosibirsk will be able to confer with or send data to colleagues in Cambridge or Princeton; an automobile manufacturer in St. Petersburg will be able to work with a parts supplier in Kiev on a computer-aided design project. This also is a long-run goal aid donors will need to encourage as far as possible. It is heartening that Ukraine, among others, has been dealing with Western firms to install the necessary fiber optic and electronic switching equipment needed for this purpose.

In the meantime, the Western powers should continue to supply the successor states with information about the outside world, including their concern and efforts to assist the post-Soviet world through their radio and television services such as the VOA and BBC, and their multi-faceted press, publications, library, and exchange programs.

In all of the above endeavors, it should be remembered that in the long years of the Cold War, the role of the information revolution was often too little appreciated. It would be regrettable if, in the period of transition and reconstruction ahead, it should continue to be neglected. ■

Walter R. Roberts and Harold E. Engle are retired Foreign Service officers of the U.S. Information Agency, where Roberts last served as an associate director and Engle as the head of its Office of Research. Roberts is also the author of *Tito, Mihailovic, and the Allies, 1941-1945*.



The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy

BY RHODA HACKLER

In January 1993 the people of Hawaii marked the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, an act that led, within six years, to the annexation of the Hawaiian islands to the United States of America.

One hundred years later "the overthrow" is still a deeply emotional and painful memory for the people of the Hawaiian Islands. Today, many Hawaiians contend that in 1893 their forebears were illegally deprived of their national independence. This political transformation was accomplished not in response to the will of the people but to the wishes of a small group of influential businessmen in Honolulu, who were actively assisted by the U.S. minister to Hawaii. The question is whether U.S. Minister John L. Stevens acted illegally or simply precipitately.

In June of 1889, John L. Stevens, a Republican politician, was 69 years old. After a career as a journalist in his home state of Maine and nine years of diplomatic service as minister to Uruguay, Paraguay, and Norway/Sweden, he was appointed minister resident to Hawaii. He arrived in the islands in September 1889, and in the more than three years that preceded the events of January 1893 he had ample time to familiarize himself with the political and economic situation in the Kingdom of Hawaii.



John Stevens

Queen Lili'uokalani succeeded her brother, King Kalalaua, on the Hawaiian throne in January 1891. She had served as regent during two trips the king made: around the world in 1881 and his final visit in 1890-91 to California, where he died. She was, therefore, fully aware of the limitations of the constitution imposed on her brother by the Reform Party in 1887. Although she felt compelled to take the oath of office under the 1887 Constitution, she was

determined to promulgate a new constitution once she was queen, one that would allow her to rule rather than merely reign.

On January 14, 1893, the queen summoned her cabinet ministers to 'Iolani Palace to sign her new constitution. They refused. According to Steven's dispatch, Lili'uokalani was "in an extreme passion of anger," when, frustrated and humiliated after hours of fruitless debate with her ministers, she was forced to announce to her guests that she would not be able to sign a new constitution that day. She promised the guests in the throne room of the palace and the crowd gathered on the grounds outside that she had not given up on her determination to rewrite the 1887 constitution and that she intended to do so at some future date.

That statement was enough to alarm the business community of Hawaii. The men who had successfully opposed King Kalakaua in the past realized that if they were to preserve their way of life

they might have to assume charge of the government of the islands. They were aware that Minister John L. Stevens, and Captain Gilbert C. Wiltse of the *USS Boston*, then in Honolulu harbor, were both avowed annexationists. They believed these representatives of the United States government could be counted upon to assist in overthrowing the queen and establishing a republic, preferably in union with the United States of America.

Opposites meet

January 15, a Sunday, was a day of planning and meetings, during which the queen's opponents formed themselves into a 13-man Committee of Safety. By the time January 16 dawned the two sides had come to diametrically opposite conclusions. The queen had decided to back down, but the Committee of Safety was determined to replace the monarchy with a provisional government. Both sides appealed to Minister Stevens for support and for the landing of marines and sailors from the *USS Boston*.

At 5 that evening 162 men were put ashore from the American naval vessel for the announced purpose of "protection of American interests."

On January 17, the committee of Safety officially proclaimed the abrogation of the monarchy and the establishment of a provisional government. Minister Stevens reports that "The Committee of Public Safety forthwith took possession of the Government buildings, archives, and treasury, and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands."

In his statement Stevens is anticipating events, for the official records show that he recognized the provisional gov-

ernment when it was in control of only one government building and had no authority over the treasury or the other government departments. The U.S. minister was certainly precipitate in his recognition of the provisional government and in his report to Washington blurred the timing of events in Honolulu.

The queen's advisers recognized the questionable legality of Minister Stevens's actions and counseled her to yield, not to the provisional government, but to "the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government." Furthermore, the queen proclaimed that she yielded her authority only "until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

Appealing to Washington

Both the provisional government and the queen then sent emissaries to Washington. President Benjamin Harrison immediately submitted a treaty of annexation to the Senate but, as he was in the waning days of his tenure, no

action was taken. President Grover Cleveland was more cautious. He sent former Congressman James H. Blount to the Hawaiian Islands to investigate. Blount spent four months in the islands and returned with a detailed report. He concluded that "The leaders of the revolutionary movement would not have undertaken it but for Mr. Stevens's promise to protect them against any danger from the Government. . . . The American minister and the revolutionary leaders had determined on annexation to the United States, and had agreed on the part each was to act to the very end."

On the basis of Blount's report and congressional opposition to annexing Hawaii, President Cleveland recalled the treaty and sent a new minister, Albert S. Willis, to Hawaii to try to redress the wrong he believed had been done to the queen. Willis was instructed to express to the queen the regret of the U.S. government at the conduct of Minister Stevens and the landing of American sailors and marines in January of

1893, and to offer to endeavor to restore her to her throne. On instructions from Washington, Willis asked the queen to grant full amnesty to the men who had overthrown her government and to assume all the obligations undertaken by the provisional government.

President Cleveland's secretary of state, Walter Q. Gresham, appears to have assumed that once Willis had reached such an agreement with the queen the provisional government would restore

the monarchy. In this Gresham was in error. When Willis finally reached an understanding with the queen, he presented it to the provisional government just as that body was informed that their treaty of annexation to the United States had been rejected. The provisional government met, deliberated, and subsequently advised Willis that it "respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-queen." The inference was that the new government preferred to live through the next few years of the current administration in Washington, confident that a future one would grant annexation to the islands.

The next move was up to President Cleveland. It was clear to his advisers that, faced with the intransigent attitude of the provisional government, the United States would have to resort to force to restore the queen to her throne. Even to rectify what he concluded were provocative and unjust actions on the part of a former minister, the president was unwilling to countenance the use of the military against men he considered to be Americans, even though admittedly some were Hawaiian-born or naturalized citizens of the islands.

In February 1894, the Committee on Foreign Relations submitted a report of its own investigation into events in



Queen Lili'uokalani

HAWAII HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Annexion commissioners: The provisional government chose a contingent of prominent men to represent their interests to the president of the United States. Their task was to secure annexation for Hawaii.

HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES

Hawaii. Congressman Blount, who had questioned witnesses in the islands, made a strong case for the queen and against Minister Stevens; the committee's investigation (written by Senator John T. Morgan) depended on witnesses who appeared in Washington or made depositions to the committee, which resulted in an effective case for the provisional government and Minister Stevens and against the queen.

There the matter rested for the time being. The question of whether Minister Stevens acted illegally or not was quietly set aside by the U.S. government and any effort by the Cleveland administration to restore the queen to the Hawaiian throne was dropped. Furthermore, on August 7, 1894, the United States went ahead and officially recognized the Republic of Hawaii. Six years later, under President William McKinley, Hawaii entered the Union as an incorporated territory. ■

Rhoda E.A. Hackler, a historian of Hawaii and the Pacific, is the wife of a retired Foreign Service officer and lives in Hawaii.

Mr. Stevens to Mr. Foster

United States Legation, Honolulu, January 18, 1893.

(Received February 3)

Sir:

In my [despatch] of November 8 I gave full information of the surrender of the Queen to the wishes of the legislature by the formation of a ministry composed of men of intelligence and wealth possessing the entire confidence of the business men and the more responsible citizens of the country. But this surrender of the Queen and of those surrounding her was only seeming. As soon as the principal appropriations had been voted and the legislative work was nearly concluded, several of the best members having already left for their homes, a remarkable conspiracy was revealed. . . .

Returning on the *Boston* from our Hilo trip on the 14th instant, we found the legislature was to be prorogued at 12 a.m., one-half hour after my arrival at the lega-

tion. The prorogation completed, members of the legislature, diplomatic corps, judges of the supreme court, and other officials went to the palace by invitation. In the meantime it began to be known in public circles the Queen's intention to proclaim the revolutionary constitution. This resulted in raising an excitement which alarmed her confidants and caused some of them to draw back. . . . As I had just returned, weary from my voyage, I had not received the invitation. . . . In the short meanwhile I had suspicioned the trick. Finally, the Queen appeared in the throne room, before the supreme judges and other officials, in an extreme passion of anger, and avowed her purpose to postpone her revolutionary constitution for a brief period, and then went upon the balcony and spoke ▶



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with great passion . . . her determination to proclaim her constitution at another time.

A mass meeting of the citizens was called to meet on Monday, the 16th, at 2 p.m., which assembled in the largest hall in the city. Short as was the notice, over 1,300 of the principal citizens of Honolulu and from other islands, who happened to be in the city, were in attendance. . . . It is said such an assemblage was never before equaled in Honolulu. Intelligent American visitors here say that such a public meeting would do credit to a meeting of a similar class of citizens in our best American cities.

The assemblage was a unit in feeling and purpose. The speeches and resolutions are on the printed slips I herewith inclose. This remarkable uprising of the best citizens, including nearly all of the chief property holders, the Tahitian marshal and palace favorite did not dare attempt to suppress. A committee of public safety was at once created to meet the emergency and to prevent anarchy and

riot. It was fortunate that the *Boston* was in the harbor. The committee on public safety called on me for aid. I promptly addressed to the commander of the *Boston*, Capt. G. S. Wiltse, the following note:

Sir: In view of the existing critical circumstances in Honolulu, including an inadequate legal force, I request you to land marines and sailors from the ship under your command for the protection of the United States legation and United States consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property.

Promptly the men from the *Boston* were landed. Detachments were placed around the legation and the consulate . . . the public anxiety being especially strong as to what might be done by irresponsible persons in the night, the landing of the men of the *Boston* so promptly gave immediate relief to the public anxiety.

As soon as practicable a Provisional Government was constituted, composed of four highly respectable men, with Judge Dole at the head. . . . The committee of public safety forthwith took pos-

session of the Government buildings, archives, and treasury and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the *de facto* government of the Hawaiian Islands. The English minister, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires, the French and the Japanese commissioners promptly did the same; these, with myself, being the only members of the diplomatic corps residing here.

All is quiet here now. Without the sacrifice of a single life this change of government has been accomplished. Language can hardly express the enthusiasm and the profound feeling of relief at this peaceful and salutary change of government. The underlying cause of this profound feeling among the citizens is the hope that the United States Government will allow these islands to pass to American control and become American soil. . . .

I am, sir,
John L. Stevens



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Dark Side of the Moon

TWICE AROUND THE WORLD
SOME MEMOIRS OF DIPLOMATIC LIFE IN
NORTH VIETNAM AND OUTER
MONGOLIA

By John Colvin, Leo Cooper, 1991, 15.95
pounds sterling, hardcover

Reviewed by Thomas Corcoran

John Colvin spent the years 1966-67 in Hanoi as British consul general for the area north of the 1954 demilitarized zone. He recounts that he was accredited to no one and recognized by no one. The North Vietnamese authorities dealt with him through the Administrative Committee of Hanoi, whose members addressed him not by his title but by his name and address.

He had first seen Vietnam in 1945 when he took part in the liberation of French Indochina from the Japanese. Twenty-one years later, when the Foreign Office invited him to become consul general in Hanoi, nostalgia led him to accept within 24 hours. He also had the idea that "Hanoi was a point of adventure, even of history... and not to be rejected in favor of continued occupancy of a Chelsea apartment and an economic desk in the Foreign Office."

Colvin was resourceful, energetic and generally very patient. His observations and analyses are of unusual interest. As he points out in his opening:

"Since no Americans, other than prisoners of war in camps outside the cities, lived in North Vietnam during those years, I have tried to present a picture of the enemy citadel, the dark side of the moon, unknown to any Westerners other than the few diplomats also resident there: the story of those days and the conclusions to be drawn, may provide a missing piece or two in the jigsaw of the Indo-China War."

Colvin had a low opinion of the

"gradualists" whom he saw as running U.S. policy. The American decision to confine the ground war to the South meant, to him, the renunciation by the United States of America of its only other means of retaliation against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) without having received reciprocal and verifiable concessions from its enemy.

He knew that the DRV decision in 1959 to go for infiltration of the South and armed struggle there was taken not in the South by the National Liberation Front (NLF) but in Hanoi by the Central Committee of the Lao Dong (Communist) Party. The Lao Dong Party had already embarked on a campaign of assassination against effective southern leaders but had not before this 1959 decision begun large-scale infiltration.

As Colvin saw it, the gradualists were to blame for using tactics that violated the principles of "mass and surprise." Instead, they forced air power into an extended and inconclusive war of attrition, which led to increased Vietnamese civilian casualties.

He gives an interesting analysis of the bombing of North Vietnam beginning in April 1967 as seen from his vantage point in Hanoi. He had long believed that there was nothing the North Vietnamese people could not be asked to do and that "the DRV would pursue the conflict even if they had, like Samson, to pull the pillars down on themselves and on all of us." But in 1967, his views began to change, and he became convinced that the country's endurance had reached its limit. He decided that, failing Soviet intervention and supply, the DRV was no longer capable of fighting a drawn-out war of the sort envisaged by General Giap during the French war.

Colvin reports that, in the fall or winter of 1966-67, a delegation from the Communist government of Czechoslovakia arrived in Hanoi to advise the North Vietnamese on carrying the propaganda war to the continental United

States. He thought that this effort succeeded despite the DRV's economic and military weakness. He compared the war to a game of chess that "will be over in two minutes, but might, with a stubborn or less intelligent opponent, drag on for hours without changing the final decision."

Colvin concludes that the American effort in Vietnam held the line long enough to permit the secure establishment of a democratic "market economy" outside Indochina itself. He sees the continued freedom of the ASEAN powers of Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand and the prosperity and independence of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan as all springing from the United States' resistance to tyranny in Vietnam. He describes these countries as living monuments to the American dead in Vietnam and to all those in the United States Armed Forces whose presence in that country gave the rest of Asia time to grow unharassed and at peace.

Historians and memoirists have puzzled over Vietnam, like David Copperfield's friend Mr. Dick fretting fussily over King Charles's head. It is good therefore to have access to a competent observer's view of inside Hanoi 1966-67, at a time when the re-entry of the United States into some sort of relationship with Vietnam is receiving increasing public attention. It would also be a good idea to remember that whatever happens in that area will depend not on American good will or on foreign oil prospecting but on the capacity of the Vietnamese regime to keep functioning in the post-Soviet world.

The second part of Colvin's book deals with the People's Republic of Mongolia, a quite different story from the North Vietnamese one.

In 1971, four years after leaving Hanoi, John Colvin, now accredited as British ambassador to the Mongolian People's Republic, accompanied by a wife, two children, and an elderly nanny, arrived

in Ulan Bator by way of Moscow and Irkutsk.

After some disagreeable experiences with the Soviets in Moscow and at first in Ulan Bator, involving obstructionism, eavesdropping, and possible "defector" plots he began to enjoy life in Mongolia. He was free to visit the opera, a traveling circus, and monasteries and temples in the capital. He and his family were able to see the real life of the Mongols in the countryside, to "hear the indicators of dissidents for whom Mongol culture was still alive," and to "glimpse the evidence of religious and traditional survival."

He found that, "Mongol ministers and officials, compared with self-righteous bigots of the DRV, were genial and approachable." He also concluded that "communism in Mongolia was an unnatural concept."

Colvin describes his book, in a foreword, as a personal narrative of daily life in two Communist countries. The first experience consisted of grim days. "The restrictions of war, privation, confinement almost to a single town, ideology and its consequences, dislike, perhaps hatred and harassment, the frustrations of an observer status, produced, occasionally, a rigidity comparable to one's hosts."

In Mongolia, "the absence of war, the amplitude of the enormous landscape, the ancient, gentle but robust character of the Mongols, above all the 'space' which, not masking the incompetence and brutality of the collectivist system, balanced it in one's consideration. For what little harm Mongolia did to the world, it did, unlike Vietnam, because it had no choice."

John Colvin concludes his Mongolian story thus:

"It was a difficult country to leave and, in rain, Tube, and rush hour, difficult to forget. Our happiness there was deep, our longing for it is still acute, sharp, nostalgic, never far away. But, because return, however brief, might bring either disappointment or, on the other hand, the terrible sadness of the first days after our departure, we will never go back.

"*Et in Arcadia ego.*" ■

Thomas J. Corcoran, a retired ambassador, served several tours in Vietnam, the second as U.S. consul in North Vietnam in 1954-55.


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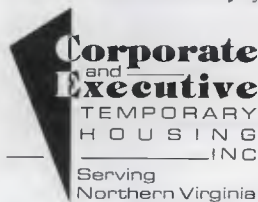




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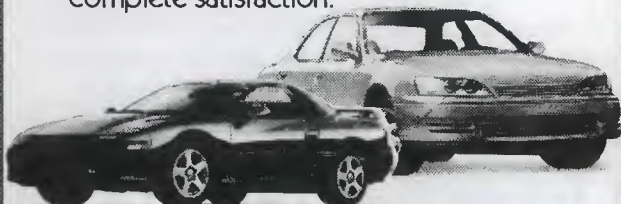
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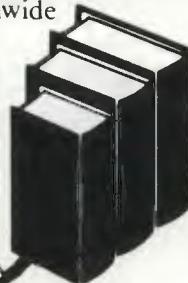
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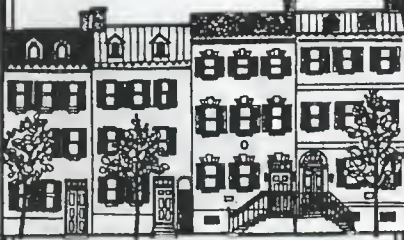
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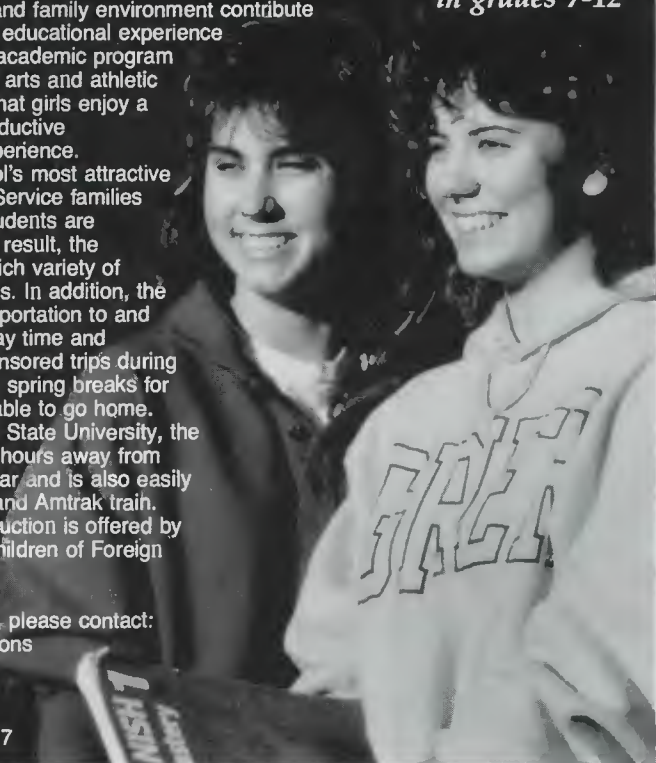
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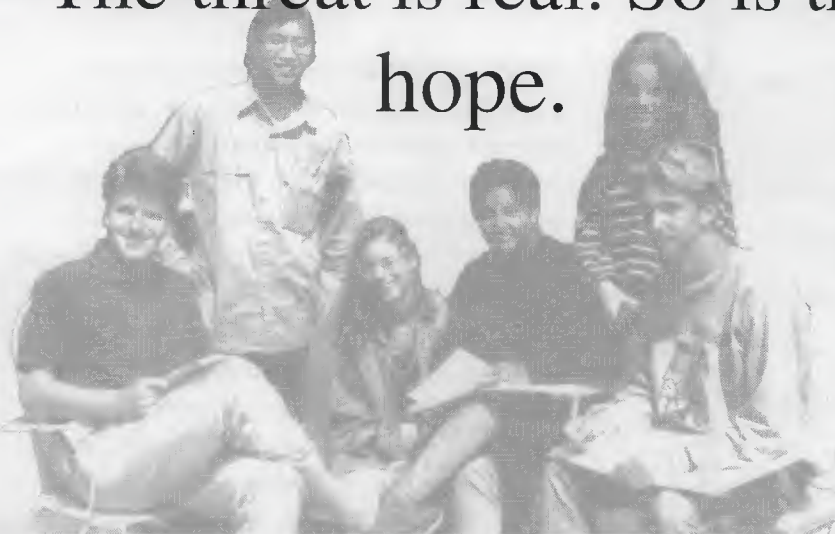
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Accidental Heroes

from the *Foreign Service Journal*, June 1943
Editors Column

As a rule it is only when something spectacular occurs—such as John Davis's remarkable evacuation of the American colony in Nanking while under formal military attack, or Maynard Barnes's defense of American lives and property when the Turkish forces drove the Greek Army into the sea through his post at Izmir, or the defense of the American legation in Addis Ababa—that the Foreign Service comes into the headlines for a moment.

The Foreign Service is not a military organization, but its accidental exploits of purely military character are numerous, and the exposure of its members to military operations in the present war has been direct and constant. Members of the Foreign Service went through the battle of Warsaw, the battle of Britain, the battle of France, the battle of Baghdad, British raids over Germany, the 1,001 Italian raids over Malta. . . . Approximately 16 percent of our members have been interned in enemy territory, and a good number are still in German and Japanese hands. Proportionately, there has been far greater exposure to battle in the

Foreign Service than in our combined armed forces.

Yet there are those who persist in affecting to believe that the Foreign Service is a foppish career, providing for its members . . . exemption from military service. . . . It is, of course, obvious to anyone who knows the Service . . . that the departure of irreplaceable career men for the military ranks would seriously undermine a fundamental part of our government structure. ■

Columnist Drew Pearson's supply of anti-State Department invective must be running low, as evidenced by this vitamin-less statement: "The carpet in the State Department reception room where Hull holds press conferences, is bordered with swastikas. . . ."

For his edification: The swastika. . . is usually thought to be a charm, talisman, or religious token, especially a sign of good luck or benediction. What's wrong with departmental personalities and policies that Mr. Pearson has taken to attacking our rugs?

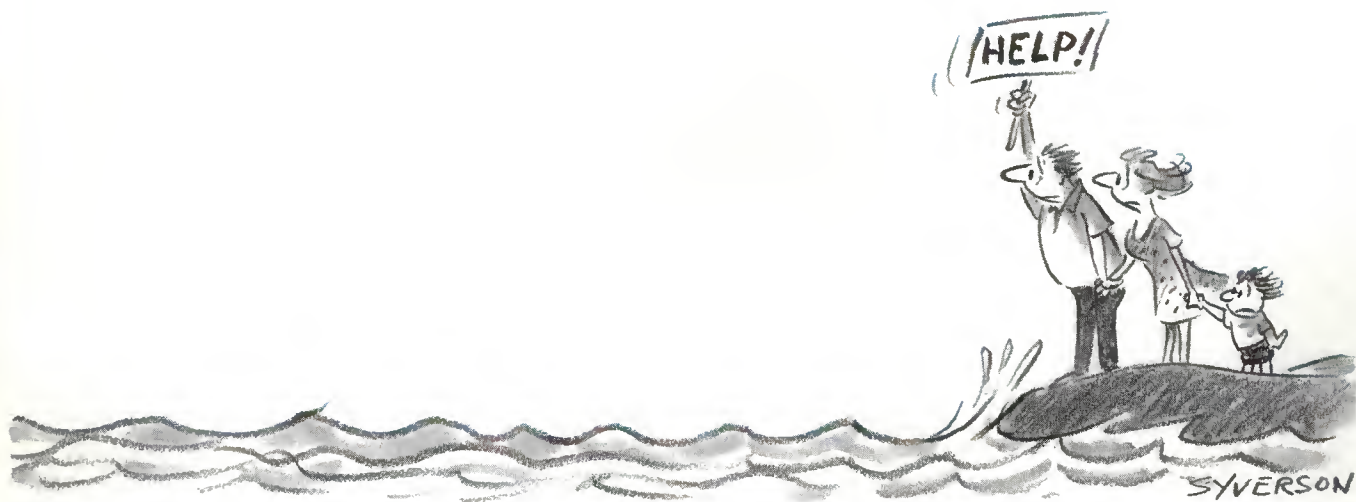
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2. Which structure stands on the highest ground in the District of Columbia?
3. What was the northern boundary of the city of Washington laid by Pierre L'Enfant?
4. In what year was Georgetown laid out and in what year was it incorporated into the District of Columbia?
5. Whom does the equestrian statue just north of the State Department depict?

Answers
1. L'Enfant Plaza (Blue, Orange, Yellow, Green), 2. Fort Reno (near Fessenden and 41st St., NW), 3. Florida Avenue, 4. 1751, 1871, 5. Bernardo de Galvez

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